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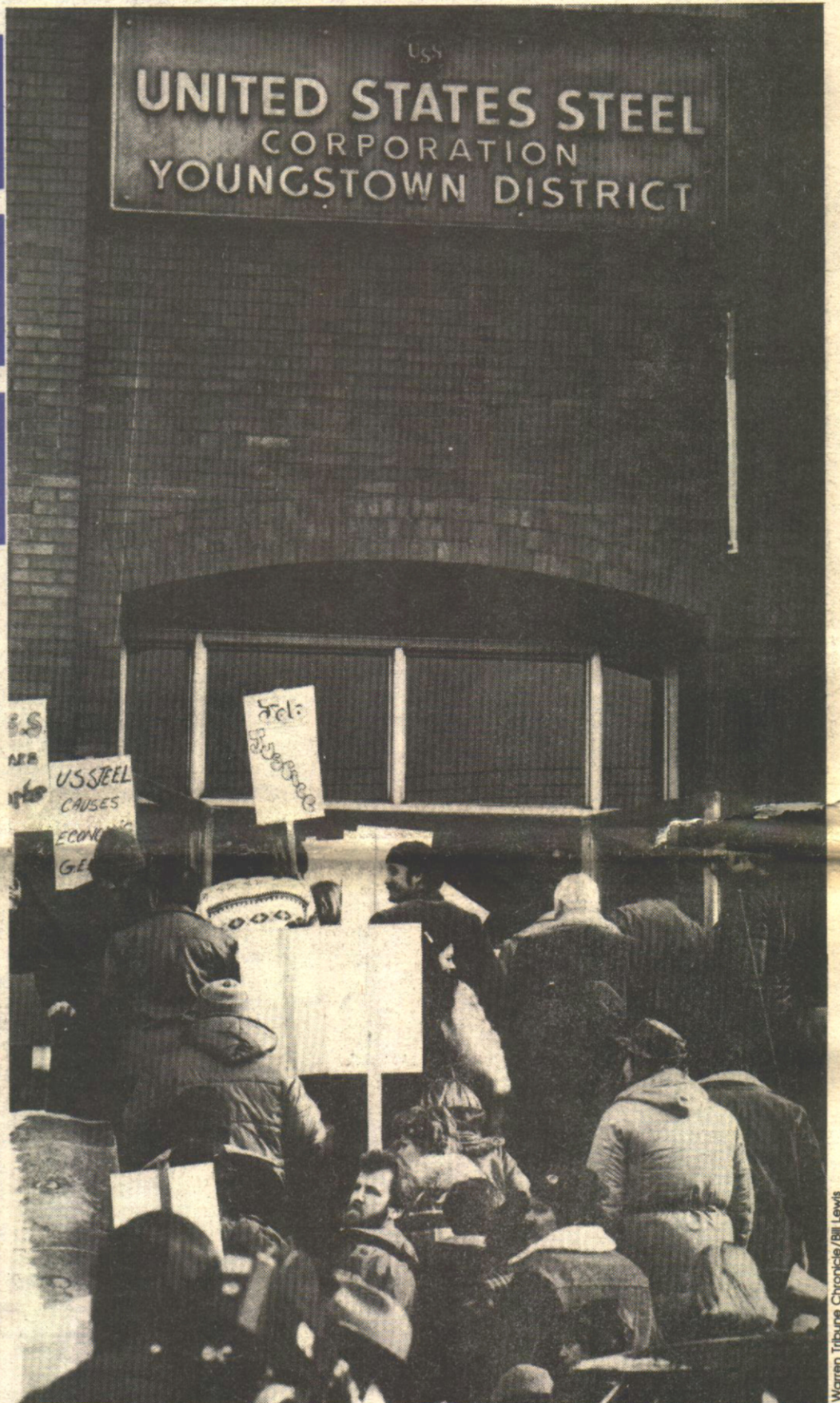
SHOWDOWN

AT

U.S. STEEL

**Steelworkers fighting
to save their jobs
occupy Youngstown
headquarters.**

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Warren Tribune Chronicle/Steve Ilio

Warren Tribune Chronicle/Bill Lewis

CARTER'S CALL TO ARMS

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THE INSIDE STORY



Recruiting poster issued by U.S. Navy.

Carter moves to revive the draft

By Jack Colhoun

President Jimmy Carter's decision to reinstitute registration for the draft was designed to put the Soviet Union on notice that the United States is prepared to take a firm stand in the troubled Persian Gulf region. The decision, announced in the annual State of the Union address, fed the fever of near war hysteria sweeping the nation.

But the State of the Union speech was also a kickoff for Carter's reelection campaign. While sharply escalating the Cold War, the President at the same time downplayed the domestic implications of his decision to seek draft registration by emphasizing that he was not planning to draft anyone at present. Carter paid lip service to the viability of the all-volunteer military, saying "Our volunteer forces are adequate for our present defense needs." He added, "I hope that it will not become necessary to reimpose the draft. However, we must be prepared for that possibility."

But according to Frank Jackalone, national chair of the United States Student Association, "Registration is universally considered by the antidraft movement to be the first and crucial step in bringing back the draft." The draft was put on a standby status in 1972 after it had become a vivid symbol of Washington's role in Vietnam.

Carter's abrupt turnabout on draft registration is reported to have been shaped by pressure from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who argued this step was essential to gear the country up for war. Carter made the decision after meeting with his top foreign policy advisers only hours before the speech to Congress and a national TV audience.

Carter tried to transform draft registration into an election year bonus by portraying it as a potentially unpopular decision taken in his role as Commander-in-Chief during a time of international crisis. Prior to the watershed address, billed as the "Carter Doctrine," advocacy of the draft was considered to be a political liability in the 1980 election year.

Only last July Stuart Eizenstat, a top White House aide, wrote Rep. John Seiberling a letter widely circulated on Capitol Hill in which Eizenstat declared registration unnecessary: "We do not believe it is necessary to impose this burden on our nation and its

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youth at this time when there are effective ways to improve the capability of the Selective Service System so that it can respond quickly in time of emergency."

When the House of Representatives overwhelmingly defeated a registration measure last fall, the administration was mandated to undertake a study of the issue to be presented to Congress by February 9. Until hours before the State of the Union address, it was still believed on Capitol Hill the report would merely repeat the administration's opposition to registration before the 1980 elections.

Now the administration's February 9 report will spell out the details of its draft registration plan. It is likely to order 18 to 26 year olds to register by filling out postcard size forms at local post offices. There appear to be no plans at present to require physical exams or to determine educational, health, marital status etc., unlike the complex Vietnam-era classifications larded with deferments. Registrants will be required to keep the Selective Service informed of address changes. But Bernard Roscar, the new Selective Service boss said draft cards will not be issued, adding he wanted to avoid creating a "hated symbol," a reference to the Vietnam years.

Probably the most eagerly awaited detail of the Carter registration plan is whether draft-age women will have to register along with men. The Administration appears to be hinting women will be required to sign up. Both First Lady Rosalynn Carter and Secretary of the Army Clifford Alexander recently have spoken in favor of registering women, in addition to Defense Secretary Harold Brown's congressional testimony last summer in support of registration for women.

The Pentagon and other advocates of the draft have brought back the same statistics and arguments used last year to support reviving the Selective Service. They allege that the failure of the all-volunteer military makes the return to the draft absolutely necessary.

But during the 1979 congressional deliberations on the draft, those arguments did not stand up to the light of day. The Pentagon's facts were contradicted by other government studies. And it was clear that the post-Vietnam draft was sought by the cold warriors as a symbol of U.S. willingness to play a more aggressive role in global affairs. It was also evident that a peace-time draft was sought to make intervention in the Third World easier.

What has taken place since the House decisively rejected registration last September is that a stronger consensus for a new Cold War has developed. What has not taken place is a rational debate about the recent events in the Middle East and Southwest Asia that might quiet fears that the Soviet Union's recent actions are analogous to Hitler's drive across Europe in the 1930s.

In the absence of a full debate over global affairs, the country is being led into a mood of war hysteria by a struggle between the cold warriors chaffing at the restrictions of post-Vietnam foreign policy and the more moderate Carter administration. On top of this is superimposed a presidential race in which most candidates vie to talk tougher than their rivals with respect to a more interventionist foreign policy, leading to a situation where these domestic political battles further exacerbate global instability.

In this context, Carter's State of the Union address bears a striking similarity to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution sought by President Lyndon Johnson in 1964 as a congressional and popular mandate for his administration's soon-to-come escalation of the Vietnam War. Then as now the president invoked a greatly exaggerated sense of impending international crisis.

Jack Colhoun directs the National Antidraft Teach-In Project of the U.S. Student Association.

Youth response is confused, wary

By Judy MacLean

Carter's moves to reinstitute draft registration have created an opposition that is broader than it is deep, and a lot of confusion among young people.

Opposition to the president's announcement was instantaneous. "We've had the phones ringing off the wall," says Jerel W. Olsen, Director of the Midwest Committee on Military Counseling in Chicago. Many groups concerned with conscientious objection, peace, and opposition to the draft reported a similar brisk business.

The Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) says that more than 300 local groups have either made opposing the draft part of their agenda or have formed specifically to fight it. The committee is spearheading anti-draft lobbying in Washington.

Six months ago the Institute for Women Today invited women and men to register as conscientious objectors. So far they have signed up 3,000, and about 2,000 of them women.

"And we are getting calls from all over the country," says Sister Marie Traxler, director.

"On this campus, everyone was behind Carter until his speech about the draft. After that, in a poll, half the students said they would leave the country rather than face the draft," says Ann Doss, a junior at Northwestern University near Chicago and coordinator of the campus anti-draft group. While she doubts they would all really do that, it does indicate a certain level of opposition.

But though there's opposition, there's confusion, too.

"I'm opposed to registration right now. There may be dangers, but hysterical war cries aren't the answer," says Ilana Mainelli, a member of University of Chicago's Progressive Union, which opposes the draft. "But I'm still working through my opinions. I'm not a confirmed pacifist."

Some are not even confirmed in opposing this draft. Fellow U of C student Kevin Schuda was also a draft opponent until a week ago. Then he went on a long weekend retreat, and thought it over. "I look at the world situation as best I can," he says. "I'm the kind that doesn't trust the Russians at all. If the only way to keep the Russians from controlling the oil region is if they see the consequences here, I'll register. Because if they control the flow of oil to the western world, it would lead to nuclear war or their control of western society."

Schuda is not alone in confusion and changes of mind over the draft. Many students feel the situation doesn't warrant a draft yet. But a Soviet invasion of Pakistan, for example, could easily tip them in the other direction.

"If I have to go, I'll go," says Verne Rosenthal, 23, a parking lot attendant. His attitude was echoed by a dozen young men and women I spoke with.

But some are more enthusiastic. Earl Preston, 23, works as a sales clerk in a bookstore. "I think the draft's a good thing, especially for the situation we're in. This is serious. This is no Vietnam. I'll go," he says.

Others are more hesitant. "I'm scared," says Lorelei Casanova, who is only 13 but is already concerned

Continued on page 6.

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IN THESE TIMES



PASS THE LORD AND PRAISE THE AMMUNITION.

Carter fudges on budget figures

By John Judis

JIMMY CARTER TOOK OFFICE committed to balancing the budget by 1981, adopting full employment policies, increasing social spending, particularly in health, and cutting the defense budget by five percent. With the announcement last week of Carter's Fiscal Year 1981 budget (which will carry from Sept. 1980 to Sept. 1981), Carter has finally abandoned all these commitments.

His 1981 budget predicts a \$16 billion deficit. It will probably end up closer to \$30 billion, hardly a balanced budget.

This budget continues the cuts in social spending initiated by his "lean, austere" FY 1980 budget. It contains no provision

for national health insurance. It perpetuates a 32 percent decline in public job creation.

Instead of cutting defense spending, it foresees a 3.3 percent real increase in defense outlays for 1981 and a 5.4 percent real increase in budget authority. (The funds for budget authority include those contracted but not necessarily spent in FY 1981.)

If it resembles any past presidential budgets, it would be Dwight Eisenhower's FY 1961 and Gerald Ford's FY 1977 budgets, which promised defense increases and social spending cuts in the face of an election year recession. Carter's budget eschews a tax cut, which might stimulate a flagging economy, and its concessions to popular constituencies are minimal and largely cosmetic: a \$1.2

billion youth jobs training program, a slight increase in public housing, and the continuation of revenue sharing.

Shifting priorities.

During the 1976 election, Carter's chief economic advisor was Wharton professor Lawrence Klein. Klein argued that with simultaneous inflation and unemployment, a full-employment budget was only feasible if wage-price controls were instituted. Otherwise, prices would skyrocket.

During the November 1976-January 1977 transition period, Carter met universal business and labor opposition to wage-price controls. He abandoned Klein, and in 1977 and 1978 he proposed mildly stimulative budgets that tried to please both business and labor.

But two circumstances forced Carter to move closer to his Republican predecessors. First, inflation, fuelled by OPEC price increases, continued to accelerate, and the dollar continued to decline. Faced with pressure from an angry middle class, tired of seeing its purchasing power erode, and from European bankers, who wanted Carter to cut imports in order to protect the dollar, Carter was forced to opt for the traditional remedy for both inflation and an unfavorable balance of trade: a planned recession. Carter veiled his new plan under the garb of the need for a balanced budget.

At the same time, Carter committed the U.S. to increased defense spending. This new commitment was partly in response to Soviet troop increases and to Soviet-Cuban incursions in Africa and South Asia, but it also reflected Carter's capitulation to Republicans and hawkish Democrats who urged a more aggressive, East-West oriented foreign policy (*In These Times*, Jan. 23).

The need to create a recessionary budget and increase defense spending put more pressure on social spending. In his FY 1980 budget, all the cuts were in health, public employment, and welfare. Carter even went after the Social Security system.

But with an election coming, Carter could not openly advocate similar cuts for the FY 1981 budget. Instead, he has contented himself with a budget that appears largely to repeat the reductions of FY 1980 without offering any spectacular

new ones and that appears, even with the huge defense increase, to offer a decline in the budget deficit.

In both cases, however, reality differs from appearance. The spending cuts are considerable, and the deficit will be just about as large as last year's.

Most of the social spending increases projected in the budget will be destroyed by inflation. Nominal increases of 4.6 percent in education, 1.2 percent in housing and urban development, and two percent in CETA amount to real reductions.

Carter's \$2 billion youth jobs program breaks down to \$1.2 billion in FY1981. Of this, only \$300 million is for jobs, and \$900 million is for training. According to employment analyst Richard Kazis, only \$50 million of the \$900 million will actually be spent in 1980.

The program assumes that the main obstacle to youth employment is training rather than jobs. "If the young people of the 1980s are prepared, they will be able to find good jobs and build productive lives," Carter said in his budget message. One labor lobbyist puts the matter differently: "The best the jobs program can accomplish is to change these kids from being structurally unemployed to being cyclically unemployed."

Carter's increase in funds for public housing to 300,000 units looks impressive, housing lobbyist Cushing Dolbeare points out, only if one compares FY 1981 to last year, when housing units decreased from 325,000 to 240,000. And since the extra funds can be used to rehabilitate old units rather than construct new ones, the number of new units may be closer to 275,000.

The deficit for FY1980 was originally predicted to be \$29 billion; it will run at least \$40 billion. Carter's FY1981 projection of a \$16 billion deficit will be subject to the same changes.

The \$16 billion figure was arrived at by underestimating both unemployment and inflation and by unjustifiably assuming the passage of tax reforms and cost reduction bills.

The budget assumes only a .6 percent decline in GNP this year, and a 1.7 rise next year. If this forecast proves too optimistic, as most economists believe it is, welfare and unemployment spending will automatically increase. Carter will also

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Kennedy finally takes a stand on some issues

For the past six weeks, some of Sen. Edward Kennedy's advisors had been urging him to draw the differences more clearly between himself and Carter, but the flap over Kennedy's reference to the Shah and the cancellation of the Carter-Kennedy-Brown debate in Iowa discouraged Kennedy from altering his campaign, which had largely focussed on his superior leadership abilities. Kennedy's two-to-one defeat in Iowa Jan. 21 convinced him to change course. On Jan. 28, Kennedy unveiled a comprehensive critique of Carter's foreign and domestic programs in a Georgetown University speech.

Kennedy's discussion of Carter's foreign policy retained past ambiguities. He blamed Carter's "false draw" in Cuba for inviting the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Doves could infer that Kennedy was criticizing Carter for drawing at all. Hawks could infer that he would have wanted Carter to force the Russians out.

But besides this reference, which one foreign policy advisor termed "unfortunate and ridiculous," Kennedy focused on what he described as Carter's "exaggerated" response to the

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and his mishandling of the Iranian situation. Kennedy blamed Carter for provoking the seizure of hostages by admitting the Shah to the U.S., and called for a U.N. tribunal that would begin investigating the Shah's reign once the hostages were released.

He portrayed the Soviet invasion as no more a "threat to peace" than the Vietnam war, the Cuban missile crisis, or other post-World War II conflicts. He rejected Carter's call for draft registration, and he warned against foreclosing arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union.

On domestic policy, he compared the projected Carter budget to Gerald Ford's budgets. And he reiterated criticism of Carter's subordination to the oil companies. But Kennedy presented an energy alternative of his own: strict gas rationing, which would allocate according to supply and need rather than according to price and ability to pay.

He also called for a six-month wage-price freeze and the institution of mandatory controls on wages, prices, dividends, profits, and rents.

UNIONS

Benefits the issue in OCAW strike



As the nationwide strike enters its fourth week, most refineries are still operating with supervisory personnel—but accidents are on the rise.

By Timothy Lange

DENVER

WHEN ROBERT F. GOSS was elected president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International union (OCAW) in August, oil company executives breathed a collective sigh of relief.

Opposing Goss in that election was Tony Mazzochi, a union vice president widely regarded by industry as a "wild man" who could be counted on to give the oil companies a hard time. They felt that with Goss, who had run on a platform of "professional unionism," the possibilities of strikes would be less and that the union would continue along the steady, mildly progressive path walked for 14 years by the previous OCAW president, A.F. Grospron.

With the first nationwide refinery strike in 11 years now well into its fourth week and only dim prospects for a settlement, the companies have yet to say they've changed their mind about Goss.

Members of OCAW walked off their jobs at over 130 refineries January 8 after bargaining under a contract "reopener" clause broke down. All but a handful of companies have said they can keep operating indefinitely using supervisory

personnel at the highly automated plants. To back up their assurances of continued production, company officials point out that the last time the refineries were closed nationwide was in 1948, when OCAW's predecessor, the Oil Workers International Union, stayed out for four and a half months.

But strikers have said that without their skills, mostly monitoring and maintenance related, the refineries will experience fires and explosions that eventually could curtail domestic production.

The workers' predictions are proving correct. More than 10 major fires and explosions, including one fatality, have occurred at struck plants.

OCAW spokesman Jerry Archuleta told *IN THESE TIMES*, "We said if they didn't need those 55,000 workers, they wouldn't be in there in the first place. Supervisors are out of touch with their skills or completely unskilled." As a result, he said, there have been fires and explosions in Ohio, Florida, Wyoming and Texas. In Hammond, Ind., firefighters joined the picketline with OCAW workers to protest the unsafe continued operation of a local refinery by supervisors.

In the San Francisco area, a TOSCO supervisor forgot to close a valve and sent 30,000 gallons of gasoline into the Bay. At an Atlantic Richfield refinery in

Houston, surprised picketers and passing motorists were drenched with crude oil when a valve burst.

Supervisors are working 12 hour shifts and "living in" at the refineries. They are seriously understaffed. At Texas City, Texas, for instance, AMOCO replaced 1,300 union oil workers with 500 supervisors.

Demand down.

The companies have the short term advantage. A mild winter has reduced the need for heating oil, and they have ample stocks in reserve. Gasoline consumption is down 5.8 percent over last year because of rising pump prices.

Archuleta admitted that it would "be surprising" if any refineries closed soon because of the strike, but he believes "time is on our side for getting what we want." First and foremost, OCAW wants a fully paid health care package.

"We're asking for the companies to pay the entire cost of an adequate health care benefits plan that would include prescription drugs and dental coverage," said Archuleta.

Workers in steel, auto, telephone and rubber industries already have such benefits.

Currently, health benefits vary widely among the 100 companies with whom OCAW's 411 bargaining units negotiate. The union wants to see the same minimum level of benefits no matter who carries the health plan. The best contracts, like that with Gulf Oil—a trendsetter in the past three OCAW contract negotiations—require the company to contribute \$84 monthly to workers' family health care packages. Depending on the specific plan, a worker contributes from \$21 to \$63.

Gulf offered to contribute an additional \$12 per month to the health package. That wasn't good enough for the union. The companies are reluctant to cover the entire cost of health care for the same reason OCAW has been insisting they do—medical inflation is racing ahead of general price rises.

But late on January 29, after learning its latest counterproposals to Shell and Mobil had been rejected, Goss announced that the union had changed its position on health benefits. If the union would contribute \$125 per month to family health plans, OCAW would approve that part of the contract, he said.

Previously, the union's leadership has

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ELECTIONS

Boston's 'litmus liberals' stick with Kennedy

By Robert Schaeffer

BROOKLINE, MASS.

CITIZEN PARTY PRESIDENTIAL aspirant Barry Commoner won the hearts of Massachusetts progressives last week, but it was the Bay State's senior senator, Ted Kennedy, who gained their political support.

Kennedy won the convention endorsement of Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPAX), a 2,000 member group the *Boston Globe* calls "litmus liberals," by winning 77.7 percent of the vote on the second ballot. But a strong showing by Commoner blocked the first ballot endorsement many Kennedy organizers hoped for to boost their post-Iowa campaign fortunes.

CPPAX's support is viewed as import

ant among progressive activists around the nation because of the key role the group's endorsement played in mobilizing national resources behind Eugene McCarthy in 1968 and George McGovern in 1972. Four years ago, when the organization deadlocked among Udall, Harris and Church, no presidential consensus developed within the electoral-left constituency.

Commoner received 19 percent of the first ballot votes cast by the nearly three hundred activists packed into a school auditorium just outside Boston. With a nine percent showing by Congressman John Anderson and a scattering of votes for California Governor Jerry Brown and President Jimmy Carter, Kennedy, in the initial round, fell short of the two-thirds vote needed for endorsement.

Commoner, the Citizen Party spokesman, was repeatedly interrupted by applause for his ringing denunciations of administration policies on energy, the environment, corporate power and international affairs. But his strongest words were saved for what he called, "the Carter Doctrine of a war to defend oil company profits...Instead of taking over the mid-east oil fields, we need to take over oil fields in Texas." Claiming that the Citizen's Party offers the only opportunity to prevent war, Commoner explained, "Military action will only destroy the oil fields and our access to them. Not only is the Carter Doctrine deceitful, but it won't work. Carter's traditional opponents are either silent or egging him on. Democrats and Republicans are assembling themselves as a single war party. The Citizen's Party is the alternative. Register for the Citizen's Party, not the draft."

Representatives for Brown and Carter had trouble even keeping the crowd's attention. Carter's surrogate, state Senator Jack Brennan, ticked off five minutes of administration "accomplishments," but left the stage to virtual silence after calling for "national unity" behind the president. Long-time antiwar activist Fred Branfman, speaking on Brown's behalf, failed to move the audience even after arguing that the California governor is

Continued on page 11.

The Corporate Giants have us under their thumb.

Corporate rip-offs cost the public over \$200 billion a year, a Senate subcommittee estimates. Investigations have uncovered union-busting efforts, increasing hazards on the job, inadequate toxic waste disposal and additional air and water pollution.

To protest these abuses we have named April 17, 1980 national **BIG BUSINESS DAY**.

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- Corporate Democracy Act of 1980.

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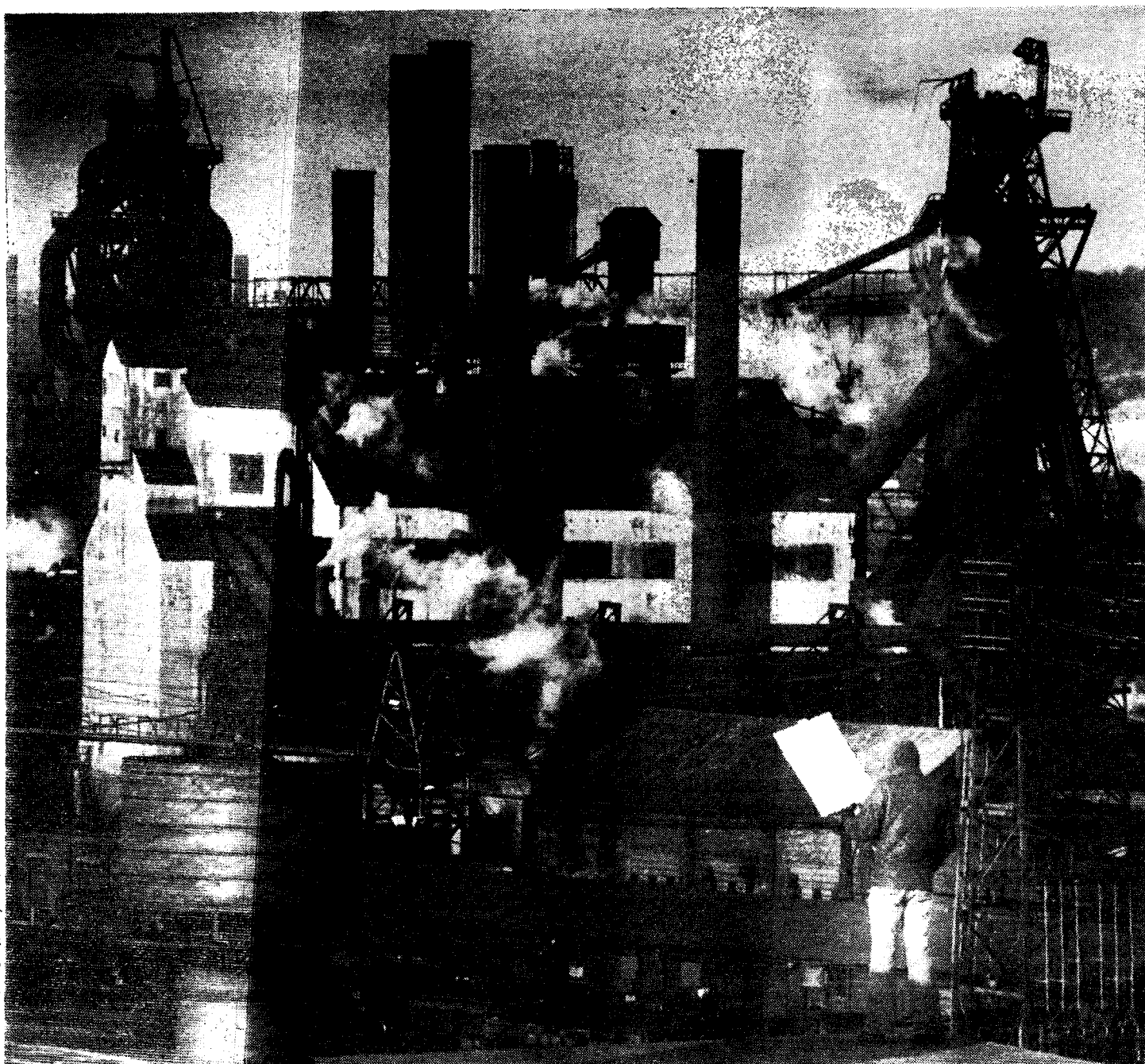
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From the roof of U.S. Steel headquarters, a picket looks down on Youngstown's Ohio Works—slated to close by June 30.

SHUTDOWNS

Workers occupy U.S. Steel, protest Youngstown closings

By Eric Keff Davin

YOUNGSTOWN

THE JANUARY 28 MEETING AT Youngstown's United Steel Workers Local 1330 union hall was billed as a rally—one more rally by the workers of U.S. Steel's Ohio and McDonald Works in their battle to reverse that company's decision to shut down the mills.

Between 500 and 700 steelworkers jammed the local's ballroom: young and old, black and white, male and female.

Also in attendance at the union hall, just one block up a hill from U.S. Steel's four-story Youngstown headquarters, were most of the area's elected officials: Republican U.S. Representative Lyle Williams, Democratic state senator Harry Meshel (who plans to challenge Williams for his seat) various other state senators and state representatives, as well as representatives from the Youngstown mayor's office, the governor's office, and the office of U.S. Senator Metzenbaum. They had all come to tell the steelworkers: "We support you, we're with you all the way!"

And, because of these elected officials, media coverage from area TV stations and newspapers was extensive.

But steelworkers had come for more than speeches.

Since November 27, when U.S. Steel announced it was closing Youngstown's Ohio Works, as well as 12 other plants, leaders of locals 1462, 1418, and 1330 in the Youngstown area have been attempting to meet with U.S. Steel officials to discuss the possibility of the steelworkers themselves purchasing and running the phased-out plants.

The federal Economic Development Administration of the Department of Commerce has promised \$225 million to



Workers listened glumly as the leadership announced plans to leave the building after six hours. The decision was protested by some occupiers who were prepared to stay.

the Youngstown area for new plant construction and diversification. According to industry sources, \$225 is just about the amount needed to install modern electric furnaces and a continuous caster in the existing mills, which would make them economically competitive.

But the Pittsburgh-based U.S. Steel Corporation has refused to meet with the steelworkers to discuss any possibility of worker purchase of the affected mills. The rally was designed to change their minds.

Last to speak from the ballroom's platform was Ed Mann, president of the USW local at U.S. Steel's Brier Hill Works in Youngstown, which is also being closed down.

"Everybody knows why we're here today," said Ed Mann. The audience roared back its acknowledgement.

"We came here today because we have a job to do."

"Let's do it!" cried the audience.

"We're here for one purpose," continued Mann. "Not to be talked at by politicians. We got a building one block from here, the U.S. Steel headquarters.

What are we going to do about it?

"I'll tell you.

"We're going down that hill!

"Youngstown steelworkers got guts and we're going to fight for our jobs.

"In 1919 Youngstown steelworkers burned down the plants. In 1937 Youngstown steelworkers layed down their lives fighting U.S. Steel. Now it's time to fight U.S. Steel again!"

And then Ed Mann quoted black abolitionist Frederick Douglass: "If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to freedom and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without plowing. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its mighty waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will!"

Bob Vasquez, President of Local 1330, stood up. "Like Ed told you," he said, "there's no free lunch. You've got to fight for what you want!

"We've been trying to talk to U.S. Steel. They won't listen to us. We've been trying to talk to Jimmy Carter. He won't talk to us. We have to make these people listen!

"If U.S. Steel doesn't want to make steel in Youngstown, the people of Youngstown will make steel in Youngstown! We're going down that hill!"

The occupation.

At the bottom of the hill, the lone guard at the U.S. Steel headquarters saw the workers pouring out of the union hall and quickly closed and locked the heavy glass doors to the main entrance. But the steelworkers of local 1330 shattered the glass and smashed in the doors. The guard aimed his can of MACE—and then reconsidered. He backed against the wall as hundreds of steelworkers streamed by.

"Everybody in, everybody in," yelled Mann. "This is your building, it belongs to you!" The windows of all four floors quickly blossomed with banners and signs held out by the occupiers. The cafeteria food was appropriated, the pool tables in the game rooms were over-run, and the roof was covered with younger steelworkers and their banners. One of the occupiers on the roof carried a loudspeaker and led the already formed picket line in front of the building in chants: "We want jobs! We want jobs!"

Bob Vasquez and three other officers of Local 1330 picked their way through the chanting, milling demonstrators inside the building to the anteroom of William H. Kirwan, U.S. Steel's general superintendent for the Youngstown area. They sat down and prepared to wait until Kirwan met with them, while their membership established themselves throughout the building and grounds.

"There was nothing spontaneous about this demonstration," said Mann. "This was a planned demonstration and it worked perfectly. We'll occupy this building as long as necessary. We have to show U.S. Steel that we don't just give speeches and listen to politicians. U.S. Steel will kill every steel town from Homestead to Youngstown if we don't stand up and fight!"

Russel Baxter, president of the Mahoning County AFL-CIO agreed. Baxter, former president of the Campbell local in Youngstown, spent the entire day in the building with the occupiers and said, "We mean business. This occupation is good and it's for real. This had to be done."

But other Youngstown labor leaders were conspicuous by their absence. Frank Leseganich, district director for the United Steel Workers and the international's man on the scene, refused to participate in the rally or the occupation, just as he refused to join the November 30 march on U.S. Steel's Pittsburgh headquarters by 500 Youngstown and Homestead steelworkers.

"Naw, he didn't let us down," said Mann. "We knew what to expect from the guy. We knew he wouldn't be here, just like none of those politicians came down the hill with us. We know what McBride and his people think and if they don't want to do anything about Youngstown, then we have to start doing some things for ourselves.

"We're the union," he continued, "not the international. People better start listening to the union and that means the men who pay the freight, who go into the mills."

Although officials at the Pittsburgh headquarters of U.S. Steel at first refused to negotiate with Vasquez and the other officers of Local 1330 until the occupation of their Youngstown headquarters ended, by 7 p.m. they had changed their minds. William Kirwan and U.S. Steel's real estate agent were directed to meet with the officers of Local 1330 at 1 p.m., January 29 to discuss the possibility of the steelworkers buying the plants under contention. By 8 p.m., U.S. Steel's headquarters was emptied of all occupying steelworkers.

"But we got what we wanted," said Mann. "For the first time U.S. Steel is going to sit down with us and talk about selling the plants to us. We came to the union hall today to do a job and we did it."

NUCLEAR POWER

A stronger stand on plant safety

By Mark Alan Pinsky

THE MOST RECENT IN A LONG series of reports on the accident at Three Mile Island was released last week without fanfare and appears to have gone unnoticed by the public despite the fact that it is the most far-reaching and most critical of the reports commissioned by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) itself.

The report by the NRC's Special Inquiry Group, criticizes both the NRC and the nuclear industry, adding another layer of indictment to expanding political opposition to nuclear power.

Known by the name of the group's director, Washington, D.C. attorney Mitchell Rogovin, the report exceeds most previous studies in many ways, while falling short in just two. It recommends such strong steps as shutdown of all operating facilities for which adequate emergency evacuation plans cannot be demonstrated, public funding for citizen group intervenors in NRC licensing hearings, a massive reorganization of the NRC under a single administrator, and the establishment of an Office of Public Counsel to provide information and assistance to concerned citizens.

The Rogovin committee was formed last June to carry out the NRC's main investigation into the TMI accident. Several other studies on the accident have already been released, most notably the report of the President's Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island, the Kemeny Commission report.

But the Rogovin report stands out for its forceful recommendations and pro-

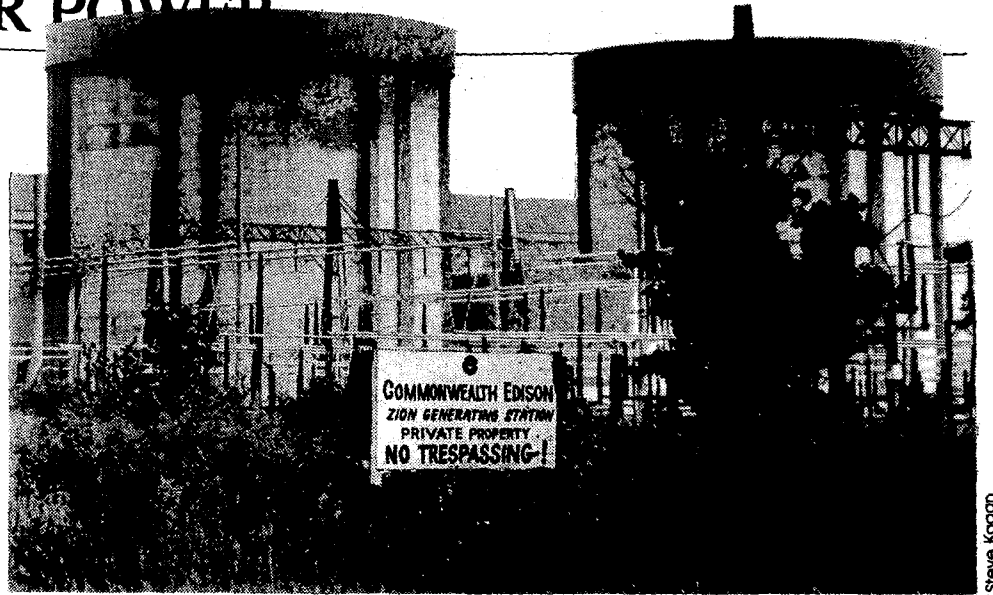
The NRC's own Three Mile Island report suggests more far-reaching reforms than the president's commission, but its impact may be slight.

bably deserved more media attention than it got. For example, from its insightful analysis of the situation within the nuclear industry surrounding the TMI accident, the report deduces the positive value of citizen intervention in the NRC's licensing process, which the report says is now a "sham."

Also, condemning the present organization and functioning of the NRC, as "not focussed, organized, or managed to meet today's needs," the report recommends replacing the current five-member board with a single administrator. A similar recommendation was made by the Kemeny report, but rejected by President Carter. Congress, too, has indicated that it is strongly opposed to the idea.

The report suggests further reorganization measures, some more likely to be effective than others. Shifting NRC emphasis from design review to monitoring of operating reactors may increase safe plant operation. But other recommendations to consolidate NRC resources and to improve inspection and evaluation of operating reactors are unlikely to have an immediate impact at the NRC.

Recognizing the scope of safety



Zion is one of 15 nuclear reactors within a 100-mile radius of Chicago, Illinois. The Rogovin report recommends more stringent evacuation planning standards for plants near major population areas.

hazards associated with operation of nuclear plants, the report recommends more remote siting of plants in the future, and emphasizes the need for "specific criteria" for evacuation planning around existing plants. It fails to specify criteria, but does suggest that, once established, they be enforced through revocations and shutdowns. This potentially strong recommendation will be effective only if the evacuation criteria established are more stringent than those currently proposed by the NRC.

The report also recommends abandoning the NRC's current two-step licensing process, which allows a plant to be largely constructed before it undergoes NRC safety review. Instead, it suggests a one-step licensing process likely to remove the safety disincentive of having to make major changes after a plant is built.

Unique to the Rogovin report is consideration of previously-ignored risks associated with nuclear power. The report specifically notes that the mechanical failures at TMI were in "non-safety related" parts, and recommends that these parts and other aspects of operation be included in safety risk evaluation in the future.

Finally, the report recommends formation of a utility "operating consortium"

that would serve, in effect, as a support organization for the industry as a whole. The operating consortium might take over operation of an existing plant or simply serve as a technical resource.

But, as noted earlier, the Rogovin report has two major shortcomings. One is the unjustified willingness with which it accepts the still unproven assertion that no radiation danger resulted from the TMI accident. The second is that the final report makes no mention of a recommendation that appeared in an earlier draft calling for a moratorium on all operating licenses until the report's recommendations are instituted.

The Rogovin report's strong recommendations will have little impact on policy. Trailing in the echo of the president's response to the Kemeny Commission report, the Rogovin report is being viewed by the media and the public as one more fish in the pond. But as a precedent for future studies of the nuclear industry, the Rogovin report adds long-awaited, valuable fuel to the fire. It concludes with the statement, "It will take dogged perseverance in the nuclear industry and in the government to truly learn the lessons of TMI."

Mark Alan Pinsky is assistant editor of Critical Mass Journal.

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A-011

Draft

Continued from page 2.

about the draft, as are her friends. "I'd go to the Air Force, but not the Army, Navy, or Marines. I like planes and it seems like the least dangerous service," she says.

A new issue complicates the draft this time around, that of women. My informal survey indicates that the women who think the draft should be reinstated are also the same ones who think women shouldn't fight. "On the battlefield, no," says Hisa Endo, 17, a student at Lane Technical High School, Chicago. "We're not physically equal."

On the other hand, women who believe women and men should both be drafted are more likely to be opponents of the draft altogether.

"Sure, women can do it. There's some men that are weak, but they do it. But if they do draft us, they'll probably put us in the kitchen or something, or doing the laundry," says Odalys Noa, 19, a student at Truman College, Chicago. Still, she has grave doubts about whether this war should be fought. "I really don't know if I'll register," she says.

Predictably, ERA opponent Phyllis Schlafly says the draft will be the death knell for that measure. "This proves what we've been saying for seven years. The ERA proponents want to draft women, just like men. This will kill the ERA," she says. On the other hand, Mary Jean Collins, president of Chicago NOW predicts this will separate the issues. "We oppose the peacetime draft," she says. "But we have always assumed Congress has the authority to draft women. If we don't pass ERA, and they still draft women, the draft is no longer an argument against the ERA."

There may be some new twists to a nascent draft resistance movement. Slogans from the '60s like "Girls say yes to boys who say no," may be replaced with, "No way without ERA."

Until new laws and regulations are written, exactly what options those who don't want to go have remain unclear. Conscientious objector status is one route, and some groups advise getting started now. "If they sign up with us now, they have proof that they opposed war, on moral grounds, long before the call came," says Sister Traxler of Institute for Women Today.

But Jerel Olsen warns that anyone considering C.O. should get counseling first. "You have to make sure your claim can't be used against you," he says. "If you write that you oppose invading Afghanistan and Iran, the draft board is going to say you only oppose certain kinds of war so you're not entitled to C.O. status."

"We're advising people to study the issues and look into three possibilities—C.O., hardship and medical," says Bob Seeley of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in Philadelphia.

Resistance, or outright refusal to register or cooperate, is another possibility. "There's lots of discussion of it. People say if enough people do it, they would," says Northwestern student Michael Loftin.

Since a draft that includes women would undoubtedly have pregnancy exemptions, there are some predictions of a new baby boom—but during, not after, the war.

Whatever road people take to avoid the draft, everyone, both opponents and supporters, think college exemptions are unfair. "There shouldn't be deferments for people in college," says U. of Chicago sophomore Iliana Mainelli. "It shouldn't be a class divider."

Judy MacLean is a Chicago writer.

WHAT BRITAIN

Steel strike has political support

By Chris Jones

A MOOD OF QUIET FOREBODING hangs over the first national strike in the British steel industry for more than half a century. Workers at the nationalized British Steel Corporation, which produces 75 percent of Britain's steel, came out on January 2 after receiving an insulting pay offer of only two percent—at a time when inflation is running at around 18 percent.

The strike was inevitable, but it looked suspiciously as though the confrontation had been deliberately provoked by BSC management and the conservative government.

BSC management had two things to gain from a strike: the forced closing of plants during the strike could speed up its long-term strategy of plant closures and workforce reductions, and the publicity generated by the strike could provide a smokescreen for the inept management that has brought BSC to its present state.

The conservative government's public attitude has been to keep aloof from the conflict. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her Industry Minister, Sir Keith Joseph, claim that industrial matters are better decided by the employers, the workers, and the divine forces of the free market economy.

But this argument is manifestly phony. The government, as BSC's chief creditor, is up to its neck in BSC, whether it likes it or not. And the mask was torn off the Thatcher policy of non-intervention on January 16, when the government announced massive increases in gas prices.

The price hikes were a deliberate government move to encourage conservation and further exploration in the North Sea. Yet within 48 hours Sir Keith Joseph was again stating in parliament that government intervention in the steel strike, a matter of equal national importance, was out of the question. But he did, for the first time, reveal that he and Thatcher were prepared to talk to the strike leaders—just talk, not negotiate.

The dominant union leader involved, Bill Sirs of the Iron and Steel Trades Federation, is, on the face of it, a most improbable challenger of Thatcher and Joseph. Firmly on the right of the Labour Party, Sirs leads one of the most conservative unions in the country, with a long record of appeasing rather than challenging management.

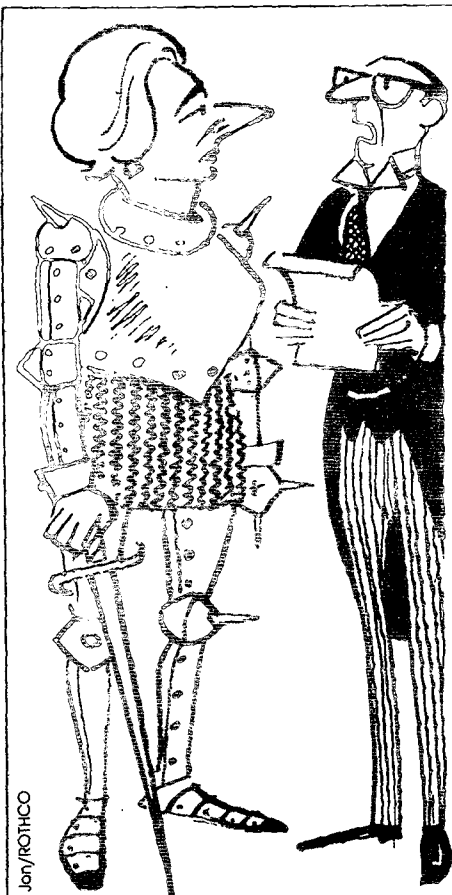
Under his direction, British steel workers suffered a loss of real earnings of some 23 percent during the '70s. ISTC has accepted 26,000 job cuts in the last two years, and now faces BSC proposals for 53,000 more.

BSC management attributes its difficulties to two factors: over-capacity and low productivity. But the truth is that BSC operates at a higher level of plant utilisation than any other of the world's dozen major steel producing nations. As for productivity, it is almost certainly higher—once you fight your way through the tangle of international statistics—than it is in the United States or France, and not too far behind West Germany. Labor costs are, of course, very low—which is what the strike is all about.

The unions charge managerial ineptitude. A secret BSC strategy document, dated December 1979, includes a truly amazing table of 'abortive expenditure'—money that BSC had wasted in recent years. The total comes to 353 million pounds. Among the statistics is the Hunterston direct reduction plant in Scotland, costing 54 million pounds, which was put into mothballs the day it was completed. Such miscalculations—usually, thankfully, on a smaller scale—are commonplace in BSC.

It is not surprising that the striking unions are demanding a public enquiry into the management of BSC. This issue, even more than the two percent pay offer, has turned Bill Sirs from a moderate into a militant. There has been a complete collapse of faith not only in BSC's ability to manage, but, further, in the government's commitment to preserve the British steel industry, which is linked to the future of numerous other industries.

On the primary side lies the coal industry. BSC is now importing foreign coking coal, which is cheaper largely due to the sorts of subsidies by foreign governments that the Thatcher government refuses to countenance at home. Downstream lies the manufacturing sector, where declining production means declining demand for steel. Most critical of all for steel is the decline of the automobile industry: over half the cars sold in Britain are imported—mostly from other Common Market countries, rather than from Japan—and the future of Britain's one



Bill Sirs, of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, asks why you, the Iron Lady, aren't on strike?

automotive giant, British Leyland, is by no means secure.

The British steel strike, then, is overtly political. From an isolated wage protest it

has grown in dimension in a way that most in the British labour movement had not believed possible.

From a strike against BSC, it has rapidly expanded into a strike against the private steel companies as well, with the knowledge that only in this way can the government be made to realize that its policies must be changed.

This is not to say that the steel strike will end in resounding victory for the labor movement. Most strikes end in compromise, anti-climax, disappointment. This was the fate of last summer's partial strike in the British engineering industry, which was the first major industrial dispute under the Thatcher government.

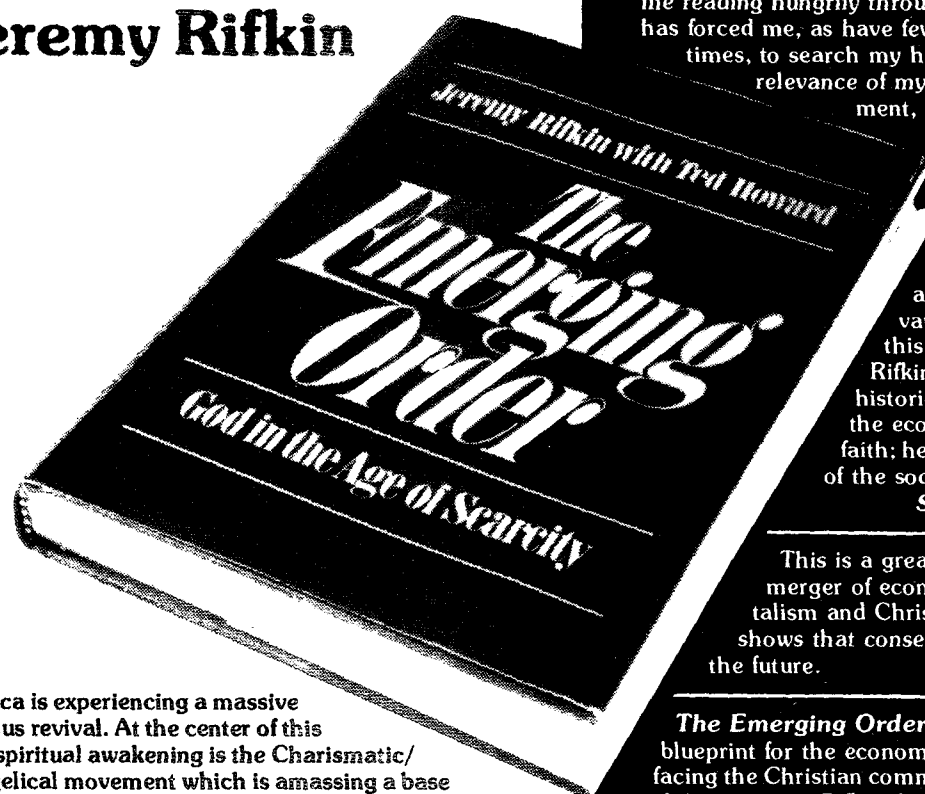
But the feelings and actions aroused by the steel strike are a clear sign that Margaret Thatcher's attempts to reverse the tide of social democracy in Britain is in for a very rough ride. And this opposition is not without its international repercussions.

Herman Rebhan, the American general secretary of the International Metalworkers' Federation visited London during the early days of the strike, and had this to say:

"From the outside Britain looks like a test tube in which an experiment to try out the very worst excesses of monetarist policies is being carried out. The handling of the steelworkers' claim is a symptom of these extremist government policies.

"I think that is one reason why there is so much international concern and solidarity for the British steel unions."

a new book by Jeremy Rifkin



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In advance reviews activists, theologians, public officials and academics have heralded *The Emerging Order* as a watershed document of profound significance to the future of American society.

Review Comments . . .

Jeremy Rifkin's book, *The Emerging Order*, kept me reading hungrily throughout an entire night. It has forced me, as have few other treatises of recent times, to search my heart and mind as to the relevance of my views regarding government, religion, economics and society.

I have no hesitation in urging all who seek to understand the limits and the possibilities of both traditional liberalism and traditional conservatism to read and ponder this exciting book. Jeremy Rifkin not only traces the historical relationship between the economic order and spiritual faith; he also gives us the outline of the social order now emerging.

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Tom Hayden

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More than anything else I have read, this book describes the philosophical, political, spiritual, and economic vacuum that has been created as a result of the decline of the liberal ethos and the growing awareness of the planet's finite limits to growth. *The Emerging Order* could become—and I hope will be—a watershed book for the evangelical community.

Wes Michaelson, Editor, *Sojourners*

I read the book wanting to say "no" to statement after statement, yet knowing in my guts that too much of it is true. I recommend the book especially to ecumenical types like myself. Eugene L. Stockwell Associate General Secretary for Overseas Ministries National Council of Churches

Copernicus played a decisive role in moving Christians from believing that the earth is the center of the universe to believing that it is only a planet circling the sun. Jeremy Rifkin will play a decisive role in moving Christians from believing that a growth economy is possible to believing that a steady state economy is necessary. One is left with a feeling of having read history before it happened. And the potential role of American evangelicals in this process is mindboggling. I have never read a more helpful book on the meaning of our times.

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By David Mandel

TEL AVIV

A CAUTIOUSLY WORDED announcement by the State Department in Washington on January 2 that the U.S. "might consider" future use of Israeli—and Egyptian—military facilities became front page news here. It soon became clear that, for now, only Egypt will have the privilege of hosting U.S. soldiers at its bases. But there has been an outpouring of speculation ever since about how Israel could best serve strategic American interests and what local policies would make this possible.

While Israeli governments have consistently hinted that they would like a formalized military alignment of some sort, Washington has consistently shied away, fearing that too close an alliance would alienate Jerusalem's Arab rivals. As the region's sole American friend Israel would be of little value, economically or militarily, to U.S. strategic planners.

Now that peace with Egypt has been signed and relations between the two countries are being normalized on schedule, many Israelis hope that the idea of a tripartite alliance might be less distasteful in Washington. Recent events in Iran and elsewhere are held up here as examples of how unreliable other American allies can turn out to be.

Realizing that American policy makers are interested in building alliances with more countries than Israel and Egypt, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman, visiting the U.S. during the last week in December, offered military facilities to the U.S., and proposed a long range alliance of Israel, Egypt and other pro-American conservative Arab states that have opposed the Israeli-Egyptian separate peace.

Only the small left groups have actively opposed military alliance with the U.S. and called for neutrality. But there was some criticism from the political center of Weizman's offering bases to Washington.

"Surely," remarked the liberal *Jerusalem Post*, "it is possible to conceive of American uses of such bases with which Israel would not necessarily concur."

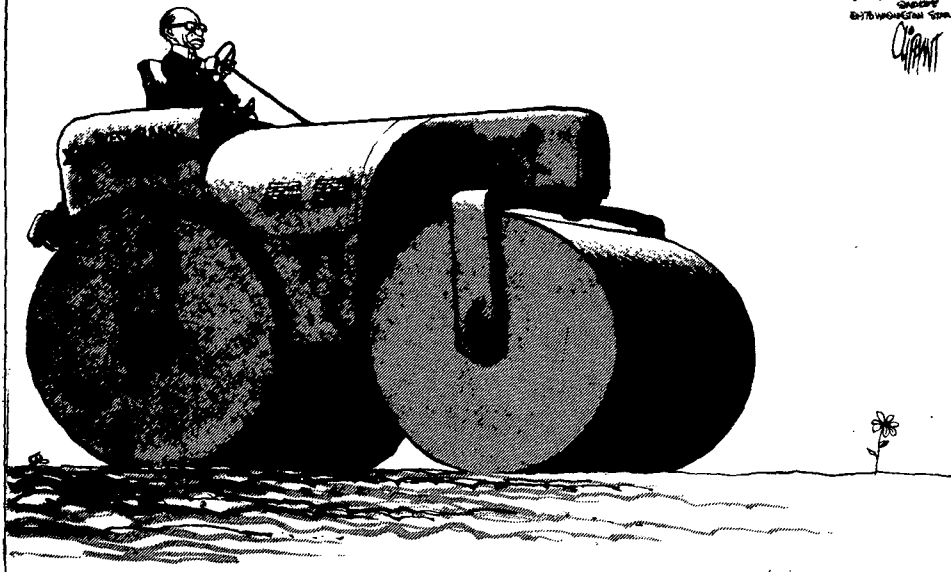
Weizman may have intended his offer as a reminder to his fellow cabinet members that neither the U.S. or Egypt share Israeli leaders' enthusiasm for bilateral progress while the Palestinian question remains stalemated.

In case this message was not read, it was spotlighted by events that began even before Egyptian President Anwar Sadat gave Israeli Premier Menahem Begin a farewell embrace at their Aswan summit in mid-January.

While the heads of government toured

MIDDLE EAST

Israel hopes to strengthen U.S. military ties



ancient Upper Egypt and spent a few scattered hours sharing concern about Afghanistan and Iran, Egypt's acting foreign minister Butros Ghali explained patiently to the assembled Israeli journalists that agreement on the Palestinians' future was a prerequisite to totally open, neighborly relations.

Some Israeli commentators talked about a breach between Sadat and Ghali but their speculations were quickly shattered when a sudden "crisis" was declared in the talks for Palestinian autonomy. At Egypt's prodding, both sides submitted their blueprints for self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Cairo's clearly called for an interim step toward independence; Jerusalem's, a declared means of preventing creation of a Palestinian state, which Begin now fondly calls "a second Afghanistan on our border." The plans were firmly rejected, respectively, by the two negotiating teams, as "contrary to the Camp David agreement."

Meanwhile, external pressure on Egypt builds. More sanctions are expected from other Arab states following the exchange of ambassadors between Cairo and Tel Aviv. Inside Egypt, the left and Moslem extremists have distributed literature and demonstrated against the separate peace.

On the other hand, Egypt's importance to the Arab world combined with jitters about renewed superpower confrontation may lead other conservatives in the region to seek accommodation. Jordan's King Hussein ostentatiously invited American autonomy negotiator Sol Linowitz to London last week—a step that might encourage Hussein's West Bank friends also to see Linowitz. Linowitz has also announced plans to visit the kingdoms of Saudi Arabia and Morocco.

For most Israelis, talk of participation in a pro-American alliance on a grand scale does not stem from ideological commitment to American foreign policy goals (though they are generally sympathetic), but from a desire for a formal American commitment to Israel's security. Most of the establishment doves share such a view; ironically, the extreme hawkish right, fearing pressure to withdraw from "greater Israel," is the most disdainful of the value of American guarantees. It points to what it calls "betrayals" in Vietnam and Iran and the "loss" of countries like Ethiopia, Angola or Afghanistan.

Doves, on the other hand, warn that it is precisely Israel's short-sighted greed for territory that damages relations with Washington. Especially now, with the U.S. perhaps more "appreciative" of Israel's loyalty, the liberal doves have

been more loudly critical of government steps seemingly designed to reveal expansionist designs on the West Bank:

•Despite drastic budget cuts in all areas, the government recently declared its intention to build 6,000 West Bank housing units for Jewish settlers this year, double what already exists.

•Early in January, building was begun on private land outside of Hebron for a new neighborhood of the Jewish suburb of Kiryat Arba, which has habitually been unable to fill its existing capacity.

•On December 31, the government declared its intention of taking over the East Jerusalem Electric Company, which supplies power to the region. The move united all West Bankers in protest.

•Palestinians in Beit Hanina, north of Jerusalem, received expropriation notices, apparently for a major new road connecting Jewish settlements.

•Palestinians report a hardened, get-tough policy against demonstrations since the end of the Bassam Shak'a attempted expulsion affair. On one occasion, soldiers invaded the campus of Birzeit University near Ramallah, causing damage and arresting a number of students. And West Bank mayors have been prevented from travelling to each other's towns for meetings.

American criticism of these and other moves has been practically non-existent. But Washington told Israel that progress in the autonomy talks would be the best way for Jerusalem to support U.S. interests in the region.

While watchful for an increase in U.S. pressure, Israeli leaders are fairly confident that they have little to worry about in 1980. U.S. presidential candidates' competition to appear the most pro-Israel, they point out, generally gives this country a political respite once every four years. Begin and his colleagues, therefore, can be expected to continue mouthing offers to defend American interests, while remaining quietly happy that American interests are being challenged some distance to the east.

The Israeli people.

As for the Israeli people, a public opinion pollster's roundup for 1979 published with the new year listed several issues on which at least two-thirds of the country agreed during the preceding 12 months. One was the desire for a formal military alliance with the U.S. (amorphously defined), the other was grave concern about the strength of Washington's commitment to Israeli security.

Schizophrenically, Israel is entering a new, uncertain decade. Compounding the familiar local uncertainties of peace and war, bombs and inflation, are the regional ones of alliance, for the first time, with a Middle Eastern neighbor, and the sudden renewal of a cold war that Israelis can't quite decide whether to fear or to welcome.

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Budget

Continued from page 3.

be under pressure to propose a tax cut.

In figuring the 3.3 and 5.4 percent real increases in the defense budget, the Carter administration assumed only an 8.8 percent inflation rate. If the rate is more than that, the administration has pledged to increase spending in order to maintain the initial increases. It has already had to propose a \$4 billion supplemental request to the FY1980 defense budget to meet energy costs. Similar requests can be expected for the FY1981 budget.

On the other hand, Carter plans to reduce expenditures and increase revenues by having Congress pass the once-failed Hospital Cost Containment Bill and some ill-fated minor tax proposals. The *Wall Street Journal* estimates that over \$7 billion in revenues listed in the budget will not be forthcoming.

Overall, it is likely that the FY1981 budget deficit will be over \$30 billion. This will make the budget an inviting target for Republicans and conservatives, just as the spending cuts will make it a target for liberals and labor Democrats. Once the smoke clears from Iran and Afghanistan, Carter will be lucky to avoid the fate of Eisenhower's protege,

Richard Nixon, who was defeated for the presidency in 1960, and of Gerald Ford, who Carter himself defeated in 1976.

Other aspects of the Carter budget will spark controversy, sometimes along regional rather than political lines:

•The defense budget increases will inordinately benefit the Sunbelt. Budget analyst Thomas Cochran estimates that the 47 percent of the population living in the Northeast and Midwest will receive only 35 percent of federal procurement money and only 20 percent of military construction funds.

•The energy budget increases solar funding by 15 percent, according to the Solar Lobby's Herb Epstein. But increases in nuclear funding are hidden in subsidies to utilities, uranium enrichment programs, and nuclear reactor funds, which are not listed under the Department of Energy's nuclear funding.

•There are some increases in mass transit—much less than expected because they were supposed to come out of the \$15 billion allotted by the windfall profits tax, which the Senate reduced to \$1 billion. And railroads continue to be neglected. Funding for the Northeast Corridor's railroads is down 10.6 percent.

•Spending for health research increases a nominal six percent, which amounts to a three-to-six percent real reduction, while spending for defense research increases 21 percent.

YUGOSLAVIA

With Tito failing the future is murky

Shifts in global order threaten Yugoslavia's policies of self-management and nonalignment.

By Diana Johnstone

YUGOSLAVIA IS THE FRONTIER country par excellence. Between communist East and capitalist West, developed North and underdeveloped South, it is one of the world's seismic zones where any shifting of blocs could produce catastrophe.

Before the 1919 Versailles Treaty created "South Slavia" around Serbia, the region had been the frontier first between Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christianity, then between the Turkish and Austro-Hungarian empires. Yugoslavia is surrounded by the Mediterranean and seven countries whose initials, in Serbo-Croatian, spell trouble (brigade). Inside, the 22 million inhabitants are divided between six federated republics and two autonomous regions that reflect the country's ethnic complexities. There is always the danger that outside powers will try to exploit real or potential tensions between Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Montenegrins and Bosnians, not to mention the Albanians of Kosovo and the Hungarians of Voivodina.

The multiple frontiers that crisscross this relatively rustic population have fostered, not just ethnic particularism, but a strong international consciousness. Josip Broz Tito was born a Croatian and lived as an internationalist before becoming the country's first Yugoslav—rather than Serbian—ruler. His party has held the country together in the delicate balance of an original internationalism—nonalignment—and an original decentralized form of socialism—self-management. And it has painstakingly endowed Yugoslavia with a complex structure of semi-democratic bodies and rotating collegiate leadership—a structure that may turn smoothly or fly apart without the kingpin.

At the time of the Russian revolution Josip Broz was a prisoner of war in Russia. Born in the Croatian village of Kumrovec in 1892, he was a subject of the Austro-Hungarian empire, which recruited him to fight on the Russian front in World War I. If the tough Croatian locksmith was soon converted into an important Comintern agent, it was certainly not for his theoretical musings but for his ability to deal with down-to-earth realities. The Comintern was an adventurous life of secret missions and changing identities—"Tito" was the pseudonym he stuck to.

The Yugoslav Communist Party (KPJ) had only a few hundred members on the eve of World War II. Nevertheless, in March 1941, when the Yugoslav royal government gave in to threats from Hitler and Mussolini, the KPJ helped set off the popular uprising that obliged Hitler to postpone the invasion of Russia for a crucial three weeks in order to crush the upstart Yugoslavs.

German air raids punished Belgrade and German tanks rolled into the country. But by summer, the resistance was organized and on the counter attack. Montenegro, whose stark mountains and dense forests discouraged the Turks when they conquered the rest of the region in the 14th Century, became a sanctuary for Tito's partisans, who gave the Nazi occupation forces by far the hardest time of any resistance movement in Europe. While the royalist Chetniks

were Serbian, Tito mixed all the Yugoslav nationalities in his Proletarian Brigades, and this is one reason why his movement won out. When, at the end of World War II, some 800,000 battle-tested Yugoslav partisans came down from the hills to liberate Belgrade alongside the Red Army, they were not suffering from any sense of inferiority and the debt of gratitude, as they saw it, was mutual.

Stalin.

It is generally overlooked in the West that what annoyed Stalin about Tito

was that he was too revolutionary. Stalin had promised Churchill at Yalta that, while Soviet influence could prevail in the tier of Eastern European border states and Greece was to be in the Western sphere, Yugoslavia would be divided "50-50" between Eastern and Western spheres of influence. But Tito's victorious partisan leaders were much more all-out for communism than the totally subservient regimes Moscow installed in the countries liberated by the Red Army. Stalin complained to the Yugoslavs that their support of the Greek communist rebellion, their moves to create a Balkan Federation including Bulgaria and Albania and their insistence on setting up a Soviet-style regime were seriously endangering Soviet relations with Britain and the United States. Ironically, Stalin's expulsion of Tito from the Cominform on June 28, 1948, may have been intended primarily to improve relations with the West by demonstrating Moscow's moderation.

At any rate, the expulsion succeeded in fulfilling the "50-50" promise made at Yalta in an unexpected way.

Yugoslavia is a country of peasants and poets, of warriors and heretics (Bosnia was a center of the Manichean heresy in the Middle Ages), who have been periodically massacred by foreign invaders but never systematically humiliated by their own ruling class—even the kings were basically peasants. Yugoslavs, especially Serbs and Montenegrins, can plausibly boast of being the proudest and boldest people in Europe. With this national self-image and the mountains to fall back on, Tito and his comrades dared to disobey the Kremlin.

If Tito's defiance was visceral, his more intellectual colleagues took up the theoretical challenge of showing that the Yugoslavs were not heretics but better revolutionaries than the Russians. In fact, from 1945 to 1948 the KPJ had done its best to prove its Stalinist orthodoxy by plunging ahead with Soviet-style forced collectivization and centralized bureaucratic control of the economy,



Above: Tito on a hunting trip in 1968. Left: downtown Belgrade.



with a bit too much self interest and a tendency to neglect broader social considerations.

Right after they were expelled from the Cominform, the Yugoslav communists toyed for a while with the idea of forming a new international. Yugoslav leaders had friendly contacts with a range of maverick leftists, from Trotskyists to anarchists. Adenauer let it be known that Tito could choose between German machine tools and German leftists, and it was concluded that Yugoslavia was not up to being the center of world revolution.

Instead, Yugoslavia became the champion of nonalignment, of independence from either the Soviet or American bloc.

The theoretician of both self-management and nonalignment was Edvard Kardelj, who died a year ago. His merit—and that of Tito, who supported him—was to recognize and legitimate conflicts of interest that are ignored or criminalized in soviet bloc states, to realize that contradictions arise between the economic system and socialist political goals, and to attempt to devise representative bodies to deal with such conflicts.

Vladimir Bakaric has called the Yugoslav way to socialism a "zig zag path with a firm goal."

The case of Milovan Djilas, acclaimed in the English-speaking world as one of the leading debunkers of "the God that failed" since his 1957 book *The New Class*, is regarded with greater skepticism in Europe, mainly because Djilas, after being perhaps the most fervent Stalinist of the Tito team, turned around and attacked the Yugoslav leadership for the very faults it was then attempting, not only in words but in deeds, to eliminate. There is something passionate and irrational in the dispute between Djilas and the regime—notably the nine year prison sentence it gave him, contrary to its usual more clement practices—something of the bitterness of a falling out between fast friends.

A more significant case, in terms of intellectual freedom, was that of the philosophical review *Praxis*, which tried to extend self-management principles to intellectuals. The *Praxis* group of professors enjoyed strong support from university faculty and especially students, and the regime was even obliged to change the rules in order to get them out of their teaching posts in 1975. However, the review is reportedly being revived.

The double crisis.

According to well-informed European observers, Yugoslavia faces a double

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LEONARD BOUDIN

William O. Douglas: a uniquely principled judge

FORTY YEARS AGO, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT APPOINTED William Orville Douglas, age 39, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, author of books on corporate finance and former Professor of Law at Yale and Columbia, to fill Justice Brandeis' seat on the Supreme Court. On November 17, 1975, after contributing over 1,000 opinions to over 100 volumes of Supreme Court reports—one quarter of all the reports ever published by the Court—and writing more than a dozen books on international affairs, conservation and civil liberties, the Justice retired because of ill health. On January 12, the Justice died.

It is difficult for Americans today to appreciate the comfort we Supreme Court practitioners found 25 years ago in this ringing phrase: "Justice Black, with Justice Douglas concurring, dissenting."

We were in the midst of a Cold War with the Soviet Union; our possession and use of the nuclear bomb fragmented the world's peace of mind. Eager government officials, sometimes with calculation and often hysteria, were acting as though our basic guarantees of free speech, assembly and association did not exist.

And perhaps most sadly, the Supreme Court, the institution ultimately responsible for protecting our constitutional rights whenever governmental action is tested in the courts, was also willing to ignore the First Amendment despite these dissents of Justices Black and Douglas.

Why, when majority votes constitute the governing law, were their dissents so important? First, their reasoned opinions were an authoritative reminder that the Court's majority was dismantling a Constitutional guarantee. They insisted on telling the country that the individuals who lost their jobs, were deported, or sent to jail as felons, were not pariahs but

fellow humans on the Index Expurgatorious, punished for their unapproved thoughts, speech or associations.

These dissents, like Albert Einstein's famous letter to Frauenglass, the New York school teacher who was suspended for asserting his Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination, represent an important effort by people with power and prestige to provide truth and comfort in troubled times.

Second, the Douglas and Black dissents were a beacon for the future. Many of them, at least in part, became controlling law. This occurred by reason of that strange but fortunate combination: their inherent persuasiveness and the new judicial nominations by President Eisenhower of Earl Warren and William J. Brennan to fill vacancies on the Court. Not only were Douglas' ideas about free speech, assembly and association restored, but in other areas such as reapportionment, poll taxes, and confessions in the absence of counsel, his dissents ultimately were embraced in such majority opinions as *Baker*, *Harper* and *Miranda*.

In one respect, Douglas' conception of the role of the constitution and the Court in modern life are quite different from those of another great jurist. For Black, the voice of Congress (or its absence) had great weight except in the First Amendment area where an explicit, constitutional mandate tells us "Congress shall make no Laws" (abridging freedom of speech). But this effort to read the Constitution as one thinks the Eighteenth Century Founding Fathers would have done led Black, for example, to read the looser Fourth Amendment's proscription against "unreasonable" searches as giving wide latitude to the police authorities.

Douglas, in contrast, was concerned with the application of the Constitution to Twentieth century problems. His knowledge of government, business and technological advances led him to see the

inadequacies of the strict construction approach for challenging the government's use of electronic surveillance devices. His opinions on illegal search and other official misconduct were small Brandeis briefs, long anticipating the revelations of the Watergate investigation, the Ellsberg trial and, most recently, the Church committee.

Nor could Black's approach provide individuals with the kind of privacy Douglas believed essential in today's world. His innovation of the concept of rights having penumbras, discussed in the Connecticut birth control case, is an example of Douglas' ability to consider the meaning of the Constitution in Twentieth Century terms.

An even more outstanding example of Justice Douglas' efforts to stand above the battle and see its true issues are his dissents in our most recent period of political turmoil; he alone insisted from the beginning that the Court hear and at least consider the challenges to the legality of the Indochina War.

Similarly, in the spectacular case brought by Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman (D-N.Y.), he restored Judge Orrin Judd's injunction against the pursuit of the Cambodian War, until Justice Marshall, claiming to speak for the rest of the Court, returned the problem to the Court of Appeals.

Other factors freed us from that terrible entanglement before Douglas was able to muster the four simultaneous votes necessary for certiorari. It is fascinating to observe, however, how his arguments gradually added the votes of other members—Stewart, Brennan, and finally Harlan.

Finally, Justice Douglas stands out in his role as Circuit Justice. To the counsel for minorities, he was an angel in the wings who would save the day with an emergency stay, a grant of bail or other extraordinary relief. The stories are legion of those who followed the trail to Goose Prairie, camping outside his house in the dawn until it seemed reasonably proper to disturb the Justice.

One of the most dramatic examples of his actions as a Circuit Justice was his stay of the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Since he had originally voted against a grant of certiorari in the Rosenberg case, this new intervention reflected his creativity and willingness to pursue a new line of argument when presented by counsel. His memorandum prepared in record time and based on the idea that the Atomic Energy Act limited espionage penalties in the absence of a jury recommendation to a life sentence is a small masterpiece.

Scholars in future years will continue the splendid study of Douglas' judicial record by Harvard law Professor Vern Countryman; some may dismiss his broad reading of the commerce and due process clauses, others will point to the craftsmanship in his opinion in the *Kent* and *Briehl* passport cases in which he

secured Justice Frankfurter's necessary vote.

Still others will study his search and seizure opinions which recognize the danger of police abuse. It is difficult to do more here than highlight the fact that Douglas was a man whose profound knowledge of law and early recognition of the evils of government behavior against those who criticize it are equalled only by his determination to protect the individual in order to ensure democracy.

No Justice in the history of the Supreme Court has sought so consistently to protect the individual—rich or poor, radical or reactionary, whatever their political persuasion. Thus he dissented in *Hannah v. Larche* in support of Southern registrars denied the right to confront their accusers in United States Civil Rights Commission hearings. In *Wunderlich* he challenged the government's right to renegotiate contracts. And in *Terminiello* and *Feiner*, he upheld the First Amendment rights of anti-Blacks and anti-Semites.

Another Justice Douglas is sorely needed on the Court today. The liberal minority is just that—a minority that lacks Douglas' force, consistency and creativity. The Court's decisions since Douglas' retirement reflect also increasing indifference to civil liberties; indeed, an unwillingness, reminiscent of the Cold War period, even to hear argument upon appeals and petitions of substantial merit. The need for a court devoted to fundamental constitutional rights is dramatically shown by the present international tensions, which affect the rights of American citizens.

No Justice, except perhaps Justice Charles Evans Hughes, had Justice Douglas' breadth of experience; none had his wide interests in reading, writing and travelling. His exciting and teaching autobiographical *Go East Young Man* could not have been written by any past or present member of the Supreme Court. No Justice ever found himself the subject of an impeachment attempt because of his liberal viewpoint.

During his last years the Justice had the support of a remarkable woman, his wife Cathy. Homage must be paid to her, both for her important help to the Justice, as well as for her own contributions to society. With Professor Countryman and others, she was instrumental in creating the William O. Douglas Inquiry, a small organization originally under the auspices of Robert Hutchins Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, California, which is devoted to the perpetuation of Justice Douglas' ideas.

I hope that law school caucuses will be devoted to the remarkable career of this great man and that the Court will someday move towards the high standards that he created.

Leonard Boudin is a leading constitutional lawyer and counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

CALENDAR

February-May

Long-time anti-war activist, **Igal Roodenko**, will be on a speaking tour of the Southeast February through May. Topics on which Igal speaks include: Gandhian Nonviolence, Strategies for the Anti-Nuclear Movement, Pacifism and Nonviolence, Peace in the Middle East, and The War Resisters League: 56 Years of Nonviolent Action. For information on how to arrange a visit by Igal to your community, write WRL, 604 W. Chapel Hill St., Durham, NC 27701.

February 15

Wrong Moves In Afghanistan. IN THESE TIMES correspondent **Fred Halliday** will speak on Friday, 7:30 p.m., at John Jay College, 445 W. 59th Street, New York, N.Y. Admission: \$5.00 (\$2.00 unemployed). Co-sponsored by IN THESE TIMES and MARHO.

February 16

"Issues for the 1980s," a conference sponsored by the International Socialist Organization, will feature panel discussions on the no-nuke movement, the World Crisis, the Rock & Roll Revolution, the need for a revolutionary organization, and perspectives for socialists in the 1980s. At 595 Mass Ave., in Central Square, Cambridge, Ma. \$2.00. For more information call 661-8765.

March 7

"The Political Economy of Poetry," a talk by Ron Silliman at the San Francisco Socialist School, 29 29th Street (off Mission), 8 p.m., \$2 or donation. Childcare available.

Ollman

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is nothing in bourgeois ideas and ways of thinking that doesn't interfere with the reception of Marx's message," but he also finds almost no students untainted by the influence of such ideas. Worse: "ideological elements in the classroom situation...continually gnaw away at the foundations of a Marxist analysis." Chief among these ideological elements is the fact that Ollman is allowed to teach Marxism in an American university. How can students learn that bourgeois freedoms are a sham, Ollman suggests, if he can stand up there unmolested telling them these freedoms are, indeed, a sham?

Perhaps these concerns explain Ollman's medieval approach to the subject matter. He teaches "the doctrines of Marxism" as if they were unrelated to bourgeois ideas; and, consequently, as if they are eternal mysteries whose meaning is revealed only to those righteous enough to cast off their loyalty to this profane bourgeois world.

In Ollman's course, Marxism is not a historical method, or a way of under-

standing this world in these times. It is a set of sacred texts. The dialectic "is introduced under its proper name only when students begin to feel the need for it." The concept of relation, "the key to understanding the entire dialectic," is thereupon used "to unlock the otherwise mysterious notions of totality, abstraction, identity, law, and contradiction." Throughout the course, Ollman stresses the "uniqueness of Marx's project" by restricting the object of study to the language of sacred texts.

Thus, at the end of the course, Ollman tells us, non-Marxist students are simply "students who don't yet understand Marxism." Or perhaps they do understand it, but haven't been able to break free of "the irrational tie that exists between the ideology of most people and whatever emotional equilibrium they have attained." They just can't make the leap of faith that enables the righteous to live by the disturbing revelations found in Marxist texts.

If this pedagogical style were exceptional, it would not be worth discussing. But it is not. Ollman's pedagogy is what most American socialists call "politics." The working class in the U.S. is supposed to become class conscious upon hearing the incantation of German texts.

A secular approach to teaching Marxism, or to discussing socialism with American working people, might begin with the notion that Marx's project was, and is, inconceivable without bourgeois ideas and ways of thinking. The rising bourgeoisie first introduced the possibility of liberty and equality for the majority in this world. The early capitalist entrepreneurs unleashed the productive potential of the human species, and taught us that freedom can and must be found in necessity. Bourgeois theorists made human society a proper object of scientific inquiry.

Marx's inquiry, which was by no means unique except in its scope, was to discover what prevented bourgeois society from delivering on its initial promise. He found the potential for freedom from capitalism's constraints in its own creations, particularly in the developing capacities and requirements of the modern working class. That discovery required close study of bourgeois society, not just socialist doctrine. American socialists, including Bertell Ollman, might also put off holiness, and, with Marx's method as their guide, take up the study of the society in which we live.

James Livingston is a graduate student in history at Northern Illinois University.

CAVANAGH & KELLY

Why have Iranian leaders covered up CIA ties?

A SERIES OF UNANSWERED QUESTIONS RIDDLE THE DEBATE over the first year of post-Shah Iran. Why did Iran abandon its original plan to hold open trials, Nuremberg-style, of those accused of state crimes on behalf of the Shah's regime? Reportedly, Ayatollah Khomeini had been firmly committed to such a procedure early in 1979. Why was such a plan scrapped, thereby losing the opportunity to tell the story of the Shah's oppression and United States complicity? And, similarly, why was former Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveida shot on his way from the revolutionary tribunal (he was not even brought before a firing squad) when he proposed a three month stay of execution during which he would tell the whole story of the Shah period. Answers for these questions are desperately needed if we are to make any sense of the twists and turns of the Iranian Revolution. Here we consider the possible direction of answers by looking at one aspect of the overall problem.

There appears to be a well covered effort underway to cover up Iranian documents whose contents threaten to tell a tale far surpassing Koreagate in scope. The documents are those that filled up Iranian embassy file cabinets during the Shah's reign, recording undisclosed funds flowing to U.S. politicians and journalists deemed instrumental to the Shah. The sweeping purview of the documents was attested to by Shahrar Rouhani in early February 1979 when he spoke at Princeton University. Rouhani was chief spokesperson at the Iranian Embassy in Washington for several months after the

fall of the Shah.

The American public later received one brief glimpse of the documents when Senator Jacob Javits criticized executions under Khomeini late last May. The Iranian government quickly responded by releasing to the *New York Times* a series of devastating 1974-75 memorandums and letters detailing Javits' wife's role in creating an "Iran lobby" targeted at Congress and the press. By this time, the documents were safely in Iran under the control of Foreign Minister Ibrahim Yazdi, Rouhani's father-in-law.

Up to this day, despite several attempts by Iranian officials to release the documents, they remain under lock and key in Teheran. After the documents were transferred to Iran in the spring of 1979, the *New York Times* (May 1, 1979) reported that: "...an aide to former Foreign Minister Dr. Karim Sanjabi, who resigned earlier this month, accused Dr. Yazdi of keeping correspondence and important documents found in Iran's Embassy in Washington from the Foreign

Ministry." Yazdi never publicly responded to the charge and little was heard of the documents until November, when the foreign ministry has passed into the hands of Abdul Hassan Bani Sadr.

Diana Johnstone, in the December 12 issue of *In These Times*, reported that Bani Sadr had 50 government officials working day and night compiling the documents for his proposed December visit to the United Nations. Johnstone wrote from Paris: "Informed sources said the team had found the account books of the Imperial Palace's secret funds with the names of well-known journalists, newspapers and American politicians who had received payments. The same sources said one of the documents cast doubts on the integrity of Henry Kissinger." When Khomeini vetoed Bani Sadr's trip, the latter resigned and accused Sadegh Ghotbzadeh of sabotaging his plans through a radio-TV campaign discrediting them. Ghotbzadeh took Bani Sadr's job, has control over the documents, and has not released them.

If this constitutes a cover-up, what might be the motivating factors? For Ghotbzadeh, might his past association with an organization that received CIA funds target him as a subject for blackmail by U.S. authorities who don't want the documents released?

The April 1967 issue of *Ramparts* discloses that the Iranian Students Association (ISA) received funds from the American Friends of the Middle East (AFME), a conduit for CIA funds, from 1953 to 1961 (10 foundations that contributed to AFME were identified as CIA conduits in 1967). AFME Annual Reports during the 1950s confirm numerous occasions of financial and organizational assistance to the ISA. Present Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh was elected ISA Executive Secretary in 1961, serving a full year before the ISA turned anti-Shah and the CIA cut funds. Whether Ghotbzadeh and other ISA officers knew of the CIA funds (as was the case with the officers of certain CIA conduits, such as the Nation-

al Students Association) is unknown. Still, given the present anti-CIA climate in Iran, the question arises as to whether Ghotbzadeh might be an easy candidate for blackmail, requiring that he keep the documents secret or face the politically sensitive public exposure of his CIA links.

It is also unknown whether the CIA, when it abandoned a hostile ISA in 1961, channeled funds to any of the new Iranian students groups which sprang up across the U.S. One possibility would have been the Muslim Students Association, created by Yazdi several years later. Could Yazdi likewise be prone to blackmail?

Several incidents in Iran and the U.S., including another apparent cover-up, have already cast doubts on Yazdi's activities in the US. Considerable surprise was voiced in Iran last spring when Parviz Nik-khah, a former head of the Confederation of Iranian Students (CIS) in the U.S. was executed with several notorious generals in one of the first revolutionary executions. A letter was subsequently published by the Iranian newspaper *Ayandegan* (later shut down) from a group of former CIS leaders alleging that Nik-khah was killed because he knew of Yazdi's links with the CIA. Yazdi also denies that he continues to be a U.S. citizen, despite affirmations by the Immigration and Naturalization Service that he has never renounced his citizenship.

Given the secrecy that engulfs most CIA operations, the answers to these questions may never be found. Yet, the questions remain haunting and important as long as mystery shrouds the Shah's Washington embassy documents. Much of the story of the Shah's 37 year reign remains untold. Add the embassy documents as a final missing chapter. ■

John Cavanagh is a graduate student at Princeton University. John Kelly is the editor of the magazine CounterSpy and is the author of the forthcoming book, The CIA In America.

CPPAX

Continued from page 4.

"the only candidate who calls for shutting down nuclear plants, stopping the draft, and rejecting a three percent military budget increase." Later Branfman reasoned, "It is hard to get through to East Coast people. Perceptions of flakiness and opportunism surround any candidate who has attacked traditional verities."

Kennedy's ultimate victory came, in large part, because his forces at the CPPAX convention were the best organized. One after another political figures who had been helped by previous CPPAX support, such as U.S. Senator Paul Tsongas, Congressman Robert Drinan, and a host of state legislators, took the stage to press for a Kennedy endorsement. Some members expressed reservations about Kennedy's proposed revision of the U.S. Criminal Code, but most agreed with one activist who argued, "We can't condemn a man for one deviation."

Many members were apparently swayed by arguments that the Kennedy campaign was "the only realistic option for progressives this year." Jerome Grossman, one of CPPAX's founders and now a Democratic National Committeeman, cited voting records demonstrating "Kennedy is the best candidate on the issues ever to seek our endorsement. If we don't back him, who can we support?" Grossman's remarks were especially powerful since he managed the unsuccessful, independent campaign against Kennedy's 1962 senatorial candidacy from which CPPAX developed.

Other self-styled pragmatists expressed similar sentiments agreeing that united action was needed to stem a conservative national tide. "I believe in Barry Com- moner's proposals," concluded former CPPAX Executive Board member John Kelly, "and I'm voting for Kennedy because I'm scared!"

The CPPAX endorsement will doubt-

lessly serve as a sign to progressives around the nation that the Kennedy campaign is worth the effort, at least for the short run. But, as one Citizen Party organizer explained, "If the choice comes down to Carter versus Bush after the party conventions this summer, Barry Commoner will discover he has made a lot of new friends." ■

Robert Schaeffer is a member of the CPPAX executive board.

OCAW

Continued from page 4.

said it wasn't willing to talk specifically about wages until the companies' health care contributions were negotiated satisfactorily.

A year ago, when the current two year contract was negotiated, OCAW was the first major union to stay within President Carter's wage and price guideline, agreeing to an eight percent raise in 1979, and an additional five percent in 1980. (Shortly thereafter, the Teamsters totally disregarded the guidelines.)

This time around, OCAW isn't volunteering to meet the guidelines. With inflation at the highest level in 33 years, the union rejected the major companies' offer of a wage increase of about nine percent.

But some progress has been made on wages. Previously, companies had offered percentage increases, something OCAW opposes because it widens the gap between lower paid and higher paid workers. Now, OCAW is asking for 55 cents per hour in addition to the five percent increase already scheduled for this year. An average OCAW refinery worker now makes \$9.55 per hour.

OCAW settled last week with three refineries in West Virginia and Pennsylvania owned by Quaker State oil refining company, but Archuleta said, "this settlement was approved in view of circumstances peculiar to this company and is not to establish a pattern." ■

Tito

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crisis of nonalignment abroad and self-management at home.

For Yugoslavia, nonalignment has had material as well as moral benefits. Good relations with Third World countries anxious to diversify their economic exchanges have enabled semi-developed Yugoslavia to export technology to still less-developed countries. (The best known example is the Yugoslav news agency Tanjug's domination of the news pool shared by some 55 nonaligned countries—a domination being challenged by the Cuban agency Prensa Latina.) But the oil crisis has tended to divide Third World countries between those with oil revenues, who can afford first-rate American, German or Japanese technology, and those who must buy oil and can no longer afford even modest Yugoslav technology. Like most of the world, Yugoslavia is suffering from a growing balance of payments deficit.

Self-management has permitted maximum decentralization while substituting a principle—independent socialism—for Serbian nationalism as the unifying factor.

In practice, worker control of factories brings out inherent conflicts of interest between technocrats—who actually exercise control however democratic the form of their selection because they alone are interested and competent—and the majority of workers who are mainly concerned with wages and work conditions. Strikes in Yugoslavia tend to stem either from workers' disputes with technocrats who want to give priority to long-range planning, or are else directed against self-management itself, in the form of pleas to the state to intervene and save jobs that risk being sacrificed to the welfare of the enterprise.

The major development of the '70s was that the Croatian movement of 1970-1971 demanding autonomy from Belgrade was

victorious. The Republics have gained effective economic autonomy. Croatian separatism, long the most dangerous source of internal division, has been deprived of any good reason to exist. The Croats, as the second richest of the Yugoslav Republics (after Slovenia), had objected to having their revenues invested in the poor underdeveloped south. Belgrade can no longer transfer wealth from the rich republics to the poor ones without their approval. But this obviously means that future discontent may arise not in rich republics but in poor ones.

The southern most republic, Macedonia, is not only underdeveloped but implicitly claimed by neighboring Bulgaria, which over the past few years has decided (contrary to its earlier view) that there is no such thing as a Macedonian language or ethnic identity, and that Macedonians are simply Bulgarians. Yugoslavs react to such claims with suspicious indignation, especially since Bulgaria is the Soviet Union's closest ally in the region.

Some informed observers suggest that the real Soviet threat to Yugoslav identity is not a military invasion—a crazy idea, considering Yugoslavs' proven capacity to fight invaders—but rather eventual economic ties with a poor republic like Macedonia, which is free to make its own economic deals without permission from Belgrade.

There is no inherent reason why a federation of different ethnic groups cannot last and prosper—look at Switzerland. The danger to Yugoslavia stems more from its position as frontier between blocs. Once Tito is gone and there is no strong national leader whose determination to steer a middle course is an undisputed fact of life, then any move by either East or West to take advantage of Yugoslavia's relatively open system to improve its own position there could upset the delicate balance. The current revival of Cold War politics greatly increases the danger of Yugoslav being transformed into a prime terrain for more or less obscure East-West power struggles. This prospect may persuade old Tito to put off dying a bit longer. ■

BOOKS

Is there a distinctly socialist pedagogy?

STUDIES IN SOCIALIST PEDAGOGY
Theodore Mills Norton and Bertell
Ollman, editors.
Monthly Review Press, 1979, \$6.50.

By Steven Rosswurm

For those socialists who began their struggles in the 1960s and have continued them as educators, as well as for those who have been working long in education, there is good news. Monthly Review Press recently has issued a paperback edition of Norton and Ollman's *Studies in Socialist Pedagogy*.

Such an anthology has long been needed. Socialists now teach at every level of the American educational system and have gained, despite funding cutbacks and political firings (under the guise of retrenchment), a foothold in certain places and certain disciplines. Marxist and socialist scholarship is flowering and gradually diminishing its dependency upon foreign texts. The right's current ideological counter-attack is, in some measure, due to the very success of socialist educators and scholars.

Along with these developments, there has been attention paid, even if not enough, to what socialists ought to teach. The *Radical Teacher*, *Radical History Review*, and the Union for Radical Political Economists all have printed course syllabi and the Union, in particular, has produced substantial reading lists.

This concern of socialist educators is reflected in this book. Eight essays deal with the "dialectical presentation of content;" the subjects range from "radical" economics to physics, from feminist politics to sports.

The most interesting essay, which may not belong in this section, is Ira Shor's "No More Teacher's Dirty Looks: Conceptual Teaching from the Bottom Up." Shor has developed a course entitled "Utopia" in which, using a chair as the starting point and moving to higher and higher levels of abstraction, he attempts to raise the conceptual level at which his students operate, as well as developing

"deep literacy." Also of interest in this section is Joan Landes' "Teaching Feminist Politics." Landes discusses not only course content and pedagogy, but also the difficulty of presenting a "Marxist Feminist perspective," as opposed to a "liberal feminist" one.

There is an important exchange in this section between Ollman and Martin J. Sklar on teaching Marxism. Ollman discusses the obstacles a university teacher of Marxism faces and outlines his approach and course content. Sklar (rightly) argues that Ollman's approach tends to reify Marxian thinking and isolates it from other important trends in modern social theory. The exchange is both political and philosophical and the issues it raises lie at the heart of the debate about building a popular movement for socialism in the U.S. (Stanley Aronowitz's short piece also is pertinent here.)

Socialists have not paid as much attention to pedagogy as they have to content. At one point, radicals innocently embraced a "student-centered approach," something akin to that of Carl Rogers or the spirit of "The Student As Nigger" which widely circulated as a mimeo before publication. Those days are now (happily) gone, but the question remains: is there a socialist pedagogy?

In two instances, the editors have placed essays taking totally different perspectives on this question back-to-back: Gramsci vs. Freire and Rappaport vs. Elshtain. For Gramsci, studying is a "habit acquired with effort, tedium, and even suffering." "Certain habits of diligence, precision, poise...[and]...ability to concentrate on specific subjects" are necessary if a narrow and instrumental education is to be avoided. Humans particularly those not of a "traditionally intellectual family," do not naturally develop such skills; therefore the training must necessarily come from the outside and involve much direction. For Freire, on the other hand, education must begin "with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction." The "banking concept of

education," which has as its main goal the filling of students' minds with "deposits of information" which the teacher "considers to constitute true knowledge" and begins with the "false understanding of men as objects," must be abolished, Freire argues. Teachers must adopt a "problem-posing education" in which teacher and student mutually learn from each other until the student realizes his or her power and equality as a thinking human being.

Bruce Rappaport and Jean Bethke Elshtain carry on much the same dialogue. Rappaport's essay, first published in 1974, will be *deja vu* for those who once advocated, as this reviewer did, student-centered education. It is almost embarrassing to read. The Marxist-Leninist self-criticism at the end of the essay—"content and correct line, not the form and method of communication, are primary"—is just depressing. Elshtain's essay "The Social Relations of the Classroom: A Moral and Political Perspective," is a pure intellectual delight. In a masterfully written essay, Elshtain strongly attacks "pop-psych pedagogy" and the "therapeutic classroom." She attacks such pedagogical stances for being based upon: 1) "demeaning assumptions about students;" 2) "certain empiricist and mechanistic models of the mind that lie within the heart of classical liberal thought;" and, 3) an "instrumentalistic and therefore reductionistic understanding of the meaning of human thought and action." For Elshtain, as for Gramsci, the goal is for each to develop his or her capacities for "criticism, debate, and reconceptualization." This involves the active acquisition of, in Lenin's words, the "culture created by the entire development of mankind." For Elshtain, as for this reviewer, that will not be done in the student-centered classroom.

A traditional classroom need not necessarily be an "authoritarian" classroom. Socialist educators must at least be willing to tolerate and should even promote, a certain anti-authoritarianism. As

Christopher Jencks has recently argued: "The life of the mind requires a certain disrespect for those in authority, because it requires that one remain loyal to one's own notion of rationality even when the authorities do not share it." Nor ought a more traditionally-oriented pedagogy be confused with the "back-to-basics" movement that has been more interested in restoring respect for authority than with restoring respect for reason and the basic skills necessary to that respect. If, as Conor Cruise O'Brien argues, the "grip of human reason over human affairs" is "precarious," the job of the socialist educator is to instill respect for reason and lead his or her students to the fullest development of their critical capacities. As Norton argues in his fine introduction, the goal of socialist pedagogy is "education for citizenship in the socialist community of the future." For that future to become the present, we must first educate students, even as we are educated by them, for citizenship in the capitalist present. The development of mass critical capacity is the first step toward that goal, as well as toward the socialist and democratic community of the future.

In this sense, there is socialist content, but no distinctly socialist pedagogy. We socialist educators have much in common with other educators who take their work seriously.

Norton and Ollman have performed an important task for socialist educators. Socialists ought to read this book and think about its contents, particularly Norton's introduction in which he outlines four principles of his "educational strategy for socialism." The issues need to be debated and more work needs to be done. There are, to be sure, flaws in the work. There is little discussion of the varied experiences of socialist educators, nor is there any discussion of socialist educators as workers. These, however, are minor.

Steven Rosswurm lectures in American and British history at Lake Forest College.

The religious bias of American socialism

SOCIAL AND SEXUAL REVOLUTION: Essays on Marx and Reich.

By Bertell Ollman
South End Press, 1979, \$5.50.

By James Livingston

This collection of previously published articles by Bertell Ollman, the widely-respected Marxist political scientist, is an entry into a growing body of literature that seeks to reconcile Marxism and psychoanalysis. The book contains five essays on Marxian language, method, and visions of the future, and two on the revolutionary potential of Wilhelm Reich's critique of sexual morality under modern capitalism. Six other pieces, primarily reviews and replies to reviews of Ollman's own work, are also included.

The two most interesting essays focus on the social and psychological requirements of working class consciousness, and on the difficulties of teaching Marxism at the college level. Here Ollman concentrates on questions that have both theoretical and practical significance. In "Marx and the Working Class," Ollman asks, "Why haven't workers in the advanced capitalist countries become class conscious?" He begins his answer with a critique of Marx's seemingly hapless notions about class consciousness and the immanence of working class revolution. Ollman suggests that Marx's error lay in a "faulty conceptualization" that led him "to treat consciousness, despite qualifications to the contrary, as the mental reflection of surroundings and kept him from

correctly estimating the real gap between objective and subjective interests."

Ollman attempts to improve on Marx by borrowing from Reich. He does this by inserting "character structure"—"the internalization of early behavior patterns"—between "objective interests" that should produce revolutionary ardor and a "subjective" working class that seems incapable of seeing the light. He argues that the habits working class individuals learn as children (obedience, submissiveness, etc.) make it virtually impossible for them to respond, as adult workers, to social crises in a class conscious manner. Their character structure won't allow it.

Ollman suggests that once we recognize the importance of this "new factor" (character structure), "we can better explain why workers so often find their inclinations in conflict with the demands of the current situation, why they consistently misunderstand and are incapable of responding to it in ways that would promote their interests." Ollman's solution to the impasse is to find some way "to affect their character during its formative years." He argues that "it is possible to alter the character structure of workers by fighting against its construction, by counteracting the disorienting influence of the family, school, and church."

In effect, then, the movement for socialism becomes an exercise in social engineering, or, more prosaically, an excuse to program youngsters to think right thoughts. According to Ollman, the development of working class consciousness is a matter of indoctrinating kids at the

right age. Presumably, socialism arrives when enough super-egos have been destroyed: "The concrete aims of radical activity...are to get teenage and even younger members of the working class to question the existing order along with all its symbols and leaders, to loosen generalized habits of respect and obedience, to oppose whatever doesn't make sense in terms of their needs as individuals and as members of a group..."

Ollman says nothing about who decides how such "needs" are to be defined, and little about how this strategy is to be implemented. But we are told that "socialists with their limited means must pay less attention to real workers, certainly to workers over thirty (thirty-five), so that they can help to develop a revolutionary working class."

Ollman's belief that class consciousness follows from catechisms for children reflects an essentially religious bias. Class consciousness, in Ollman's view, is realized when workers have climbed nine steps up a modern version of Jacob's ladder which extends from the depths of the "workers' condition" and ends at the heavenly city of faith in "Marx's strategy, or that advocated by Marxist leaders." The sixth step "up the ladder to class consciousness," Ollman argues, is taken when workers "have an inkling, however vague, that their situation can be improved." In other words, they must act on faith. They "must not be afraid to act when the time comes" even if they do not know what certain "Marxist leaders," have prepared for them. Jacob's modern ladder represents quite an ordeal. As Ollman says, "Pro-

gress from the workers' condition to class consciousness involves not one but many steps, each of which constitutes a real problem of achievement for some section of the working class." The progress of the proletarian pilgrim, Ollman reminds us, is "fraught with possibilities for failure." John Bunyan, who knew about such things, would agree.

A more useful attempt to explain why a popular movement for socialism has not yet emerged in the U.S. (for this is what I presume Ollman means by the lack of class consciousness) might better begin with an analysis of the religious bias of American socialism—the same bias that shapes Ollman's treatment of working class consciousness. Socialists here have normally viewed their doctrine as something not quite of this world—at least that is the effect of their unwillingness to discuss it except with those who already share the faith. By limiting discussion of doctrine to the faithful—by refusing to discuss socialism in the vernacular of the people whose souls are at stake—American socialists have insulated themselves from the corruption, temptation and sin the world must contain. From that lofty perch, they can proclaim the superiority of their doctrine, decry the sinful behavior of the heathen masses and continue to bemoan their painfully obvious impotence.

Unfortunately, we shall not find a guide to discarding our holy garments and Latin tongue in Ollman's essay "On Teaching Marxism." To Ollman, teaching Marxism must be intolerably difficult. Not only does he insist that "there

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SKAG

Continued from page 16

risks. They object to double safety standards. John O'Toole, Chair of Grievancemen at Local 1397, explained that often foremen will on the one hand "slip the worker—give him a disciplinary notice—for breaking a safety rule and then order another worker to do an unsafe job which may require disregarding that same rule.

Upper management has imposed a quota system on the foremen, O'Toole reported. For example, one work site might have a quota of 11 discipline slips for safety per week. If at the end of the week the foreman has not given out all the allotted slips, he is required to come in on his day off to find safety hazards. This system is supposed to ensure that the mill is a safer workplace, workers are told by management.

John Ingersoll is an "old timer" who spent 30 years in the mills. He's also been a teacher of apprentices and a foreman for three months. He had less trouble with Skag being a wildcat than some of the other workers. He explained that low-level foremen, which Skag appears to be in programs after the pilot, have a terrible job. They are pressured by upper management to increase production and crack down on the workers. They are also pressured by the workers with whom they want to be friends.

Unreal.

In the final scene, Skag returns to the mill to prove he can still make steel. He orders the men to speed up the process and even starts shoveling himself. Of course, his men win the race to make the steel. Comments on this part of the show begin with a mild accusation of unrealism to a livid "bullshit."

"Anybody who's ever worked open hearth knows that everybody's got their pace and they take their breaks" Evans said. "They don't get into that kind of competition. That's when you get hurt, when you're doing extra, when you're trying to push. The guys who are encouraged by the foreman to break their ass would just look at him and say, 'Who're you kidding?'"

Perhaps, Evans speculated, Mann was unable to film in the mill unless he had agreed to show management as strong. "You know you can show labor as a bunch of flunkies and Uncle Toms," Evans says, "but you just can't show them standing up to the boss."

The criticism also extended to portrayal of Malden's "making steel." These days samples are always checked with the lab and tested for purity before the ingot is declared steel. Some workers thought that maybe in the '20s people would be able to look at steel and tell if it was ready to be "tapped." Now no one would attempt Skag's "madness," as they called his action.

The show also offended union pride. Ron Weisen is the president of Local 1397, a union in continual conflict with the International. He was disappointed that the union came across as weak, particularly since Mann had attended a local union meeting, had discussed the union in detail with several unionmen and also enjoyed a number of rounds at the local bar.

Others echoed Weisen's sentiments, saying that not only was the unionman too weak a character, but he was totally miscast. The union once was made up of old foreigners, many of whom urged the men to cooperate. The mill at that time was alive with a million different languages. Today, however, the union is being taken over by younger, educated people. While *Skag's* unionman wasn't foreign, he was too deferential for workers at the Homestead local.

Good news.

When "The Wildcatters" episode was aired (Jan. 24) the voices changed tone. About 15 workers in that episode walk off their jobs after a worker dying from a disease caused by mill dust is fired. The union ignores the reason for the

strike—safety issues, offering workers instead better benefits and more pay.

Weisen admitted that local 1397 Rank and File receives no backing from the International, that if he were to take the workers out on strike for an important issue like safety they would all be fired without hesitation.

"Our hands are tied on many issues" he said. "We have no muscle on safety."

"That episode shows that the union is into control rather than change, and unfortunately that's true" said Evans. He worried, however, that the truth presented would spark anti-union sentiment. While the unions often negotiated for the company instead of the workers, he said, workers still make up the membership and potentially can change its direction.

"We can't ignore the history of unions" said another worker. If it were not for worker organizing, he pointed out, conditions today might still reflect Thomas Bell's *Out of This Furnace*, which describes the Pittsburgh mills at the turn of the 20th century.

Tony Norosel from the Steelmet plant in Port Vue saw Skag's attempt to bring "brotherhood" to the union local as the show's strong point. But he found misunderstandings of the union's structure and laws.

"A wildcat strike wouldn't be called over a safety issue" he said. "USWA contracts include a provision that workers may refuse to perform a task they feel is unsafe without risking their jobs."

"True, there is a safety clause" Weisen responded. "You're supposed to be reassigned to another job. But the reality is that they'll tell you nothing is open and 'slip' you. Abby Mann talked to us about this, and I'd say he's pretty accurate."

Generally workers found the family aspects of the mini-series acceptable. Several called *Skag* a "fairly decent soap opera, better than most of the pulp on TV."

"It's nice that finally a mill is on TV and maybe that's a real positive step," Evans said.

With current layoffs, contract disputes and problems of poor working conditions, steelworkers seem sensitive to being used as a backdrop, even for a potentially good show of adult drama. Many however feel it's good that one real issue they contend with daily—that of the union siding with the company on safety issues—be exposed.

"I badmouthed Karl Malden after the first two shows" Evans said. "The distortions are still there, but the third show had a redeeming feature, and we can't ignore it."

MANN



Abby Mann, producer of *Skag*.

Continued from page 16.

kind of a shakedown when you try to find out what works.

You returned to Pittsburgh recently.

Yes. We were doing research on *Skag*. That trip was really fruitful. I talked with a retired steel worker named John Gross, and others, and I got the concept for a show called "Wildcatters." It's about the dust that the steelworkers inhale, which as you know is part of their problems, and the problems unions have in dealing

with it, as well as the dangers to steelworkers' lives. I sat and talked to people in one of the bars in Braddock.

Do you aim to affect public opinion with your writing?

You know when Skag said, "There's women's lib. But what about lib for guys like me?" Well, I'd like people to think about the life of the ordinary guy in this country, who is being pinched to death by inflation. The guy who works his guts off with nobody to thank him. I also think it would be wonderful if we could have a television show with content. I'm talking about a series, real content and characters who make us think. I think the show we're doing about the wildcatters is the kind of thing I mean. If you have shows like that and you get people to watch them rather than the usual placebo, then we will change the cultural habits of the American people.

You really think that a television show is that powerful?

Yes I do because so many people watch television.

How do you think your show will affect opinion about contract disputes or strikes or the recent layoffs of workers?

I deal with some of that in "The Wildcatters." But I want to deal more with it in the series, and I'm finding out more about it. In fact, I'm planning to go back to Pittsburgh if we're picked up and do further research. I think it's very important.

Will you follow production for the next season?

Yes, if I have complete freedom. I won't know that until we get the official pickup, but I have always had a good association with Fred Silverman. He gave me complete freedom before, and I have a lot of faith in him. There's always a struggle for complete control. I think there's nothing democratic about art—it has to be a one person committee. To make it worth my while, it has to be totally that.

Anita Alverio is a client advocate for the Community Health Advocacy Network in Pittsburgh and a reporter for a local weekly newspaper.

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By Pat Aufderheide

IT'S ALWAYS BEEN HARD TO find the public in public television. Now a conflict between independent filmmakers and WNET, the New York public TV station, has sharpened some of the points at issue.

It started with three-year-old *Independent Focus*, WNET's only regular program to display work by independent noncommercial filmmakers. (The show is available, in whole or in part, to other PBS stations as well.) Each year a new programmer is hired for the series. Last year it was independent filmmaker Marc Weiss. Long an activist for independent and left filmmaking and film distribution organizations, Weiss took the job on condition that a peer review panel be involved in programming choices.

So five veterans of independent filmmaking and programming watched some 250 films for a token \$175, and selected 28 of them.

WNET accepted 24 of their choices, including a core group of controversial and socially critical films. *With Babies and Banners*, for instance, kicked off the series Jan. 27 along with Saul Landau's short *CIA Case Officer*. A March program will join *Controlling Interest*, the hardhitting critique of multinationals, with *War Shadows*, a dying Vietnam vet's warnings about the hazards of dioxin in Agent Orange, and *Outtakes*, the scenes they didn't show us on TV from the Vietnam war.

But WNET rejected four films, without a murmur of explanation to the panel: *Finally Got the News* (distributed by Unifilm), about the League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit factories in the late '60s; *The Chicago Maternity Center Story* (Unifilm), in

which working women criticize industrialized health care for women; *A Comedy in Six Unnatural Acts* (Iris), a lesbian satire; and *O Povo Organizado* (Unifilm), about the Mozambique liberation struggle.

Why reject those four films and not others on equally touchy topics? Finding out has brought out of the studio longstanding questions about public TV's definition of its audience and of its priorities.

Channels of access.

"The issue is not only that these four films get programmed," said Alan Jacobs of the Association of Independent Video and Filmmakers, an organization that has lobbied heavily for independents. "The big one is what it reflects about access to public TV."

When the panel heard about the rejections they requested a clarifying letter from Liz Oliver, Assistant Manager of Acquisitions and *Independent Focus* producer. Her reply only muddied the waters further. Filmmakers then mobilized their colleagues and community and interest groups.

First to protest, sending a delegation to WNET and lining up around 50 New York-area groups to sign a petition, were gays and lesbians in support of Jan Oxenberg's *Comedy*.

The National Association of Lesbian and Gay Filmmakers, said one of its members, is "trying to build a community response, not just an independent filmmakers' response. This is part of a larger system of informal censorship of gay issues and gay media. NET is hiding homophobia behind the excuse of technical problems."

Now a Coalition to Make Public TV Public has formed, with a press conference announcing itself on Jan. 24 in New York. Spurred by the rejection of the four films, it attempts to link their rejection to wider problems.

Money and taste.

Noncommercial independents have always gotten PBS's crumbs. There has never been a permanent procedure or guidelines for acquiring noncommercial independent work for public TV showing, and what has been used has mostly been bought at—to be kind—token rates. By 1976 the part of public TV's programming budget spent on independents had plummeted to three percent. Congress became alarmed enough at the lack of diversity and lack of access to pass two mandates in the Public Telecommunications Act of 1978.

The Act required that "a substantial amount" of programming budgets—some Congressmen saw this as 50 percent—be spent on "independents." It also mandated the use of peer review panels to choose programs. Still in the air is the exact interpretation of "substantial amount," "independents" and "peer review panels."

Independent Focus was a trial essay in using peer review panels, Liz Oliver pointed out to *In These Times*. "There was never any question that it was an advisory panel. We did accept 24 of their 28 recommendations. And this is the first time any public TV station has worked this kind of open way in an acquisition series. It's an evolving process."

Marc Weiss said "I was told that the reason the panel would be advisory was because the station has to see that broadcast

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

Independent Focus breaks tradition in public programming



The Chicago Maternity Center Story (above), which was rejected for WNET's series on independent film; *The Flashettes*, a documentary on an all-girl, all-black New York track team, which was accepted.

WNET's broadcast standards, say media coalition members, have shown a class bias that ignores community concerns.

standards are met. Instead we were overruled on matters of taste and content."

Liz Oliver's objections to the films included complaints that public affairs material—for instance the information on the League of Revolutionary Black Workers—was outdated, that the exposition in *O Povo Organizado* was "dry" and that an "unseen narrator" in *The Chicago Maternity Center Story* made unsubstantiated comments.

"There were different reasons in each case," she said. "These films all deal with different subjects and I don't see anything they have in common for which we rejected them."

But the Coalition does. They claim that the four films speak to and of a different audience than the one that many PBS stations currently depend on to supplement meager federal sti-

pend. They not only provide social criticism but they are made in the voice of the people for whom they are made. Coalition members suspect that what Oliver sees as a matter of quality and taste may in fact be class bias.

Gordon Quinn of Kartemquin Films, the collective that made *The Chicago Maternity Center Story*, explained "We feel that Oliver's and WNET's 'problem' is the same with all four films. Not only do they deal with controversial subjects, but they are open and honest about their viewpoints and sympathies."

"Our film is different because it is made for and with the people who are suffering from the consequences of a dominant culture's view of technology. They cannot be asked to be 'objective' about their own oppression. They cannot be dispassionate as they exam-

ine its historical sources."

Alan Jacobs found Oliver's critique of the unseen narrator disingenuous. "That's a major style in documentaries," he said to *In These Times*. "In fact, it's an NET style."

"That wasn't the real objection. The fact is that all four films were militant in their positions. They represented and spoke from movements for social change."

Larger audiences.

"The real loss" said peer review panelist Vicki Gholson, who serves on the Media Advocacy Committee of the Black Producers' Association "is the audience's. WNET's criticisms reflected people's individual lifestyles, not any true accountability to a larger audience."

"Take *Finally Got the News*—this was the first time I ever saw the film. I was enthusiastic, because for me it was a piece of history. I could get information from it to apply to what is happening today. All Liz saw was that it was old. But to a large community—specifically a black community—it would have had a meaning."

"And *O Povo Organizado* is used by Black Studies programs across the country. I was supposed to be on the panel—I was the only black member—to let them know what the track record of a film like this is in a particular community."

Both the Black Citizens for Fair Media and the African Heritage Studies Association, Gholson said, have written WNET to protest the shut-out of films that speak not only to a particular audience but from and of it.

Andrea Eagan also wrote WNET to protest. Her organization, HealthRight, distributes information on women's health to working class women and she has been using *The Chicago Maternity Center Story* since it was released.

"It's a very effective film about the political aspects of childbirth," she said. "It's the kind of thing we could have said to students—who are not the kind who usually watch public TV—'This film is on Channel 13 tonight, why don't you watch it?' TV has a powerful impact. It makes issues official."

"If we get real community input on public stations," said Quinn, "I'll take my chances as a filmmaker with those people—there'll be problems with that too. But I'd rather argue with community people than with a Liz Oliver."

Tentative gains.

Presently WNET says it's considering rescreening and possibly showing the films at a later date, although *Independent Focus* will go on with the original 24 films. Senior executives reportedly screened *A Comedy* after protests, and Jan Oxenberg heard "a rumor that they laughed." Coalition members have a meeting with WNET President John Jay Iselin Feb. 11.

But Liz Oliver and Marc Weiss at least agree on one thing—even without the four films, this season's *Independent Focus* is impressive. "The series has made great strides in showing a tremendous amount of independent work" said Oliver. Weiss settled for calling it a "dynamite show."

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COMICS

Finally, the Freud of your dreams

FREUD FOR BEGINNERS
By A & Z (Richard Appignonesi
& Oscar Zarate)
Pantheon Books, \$2.95.

By James Livingston

This wonderful little book is part of Pantheon's effort to profit from an awakening interest in the dialectical tradition. There's already a *Marx for Beginners* and a *Lenin for Beginners*; before long we will probably see *Hegel for Beginners*, to be followed, of course, by *Groethe Gospels for Beginners*. Pantheon seems determined to turn a book on the promulgation of the power of negative thinking. May it continue to profit from our need to negate the negative.

The authors of *Freud for Beginners* are "A & Z," the London-based artists who also wrote and illustrated *Lenin for Beginners*. Their treatment of Freud is rigorous, but watching it unfold is just plain fun. We encounter a thoughtful Freud standing shoulder deep in shit as he expounds the intricacies of infantile animality. Little Hans' parents

turn out to be respectable, middle class horses, whose cartoon citizenship makes Freud's world of uncommon sense, where a little boy displaces his fear of castration onto horses, seem immediately accessible and reasonable.

The power and appeal of the "documentary comic book" lie in the ability of the authors to uproot our commonplace notions about reality through pictures as well as words, and thereby to make the "real world" unreal. Since the aesthetic and emotional aspects of our human nature cannot be ignored or treated as afterthoughts in this format, the authors assume we are whole beings and approach us as such. But we are not wrung out by the rapid fire manipulation of imagery, as in a technically overpowering film. This is still a book. So we must creatively assimilate its contents, rather than sit back and merely receive a message.

A & Z give us much to assimilate. They do not treat Freud's theoretical advances in the way conformist psychologists like to treat them—as a set of radically debunking propositions that may have offended Victorian sen-

1884-87: Freud studied the effects of cocaine — starting on himself. Freud even prescribed it to Martha.

COCAINE IS AN ANTI-DEPRESSANT, A HARMLESS ANESTHETIC.



Freud's close friend, the gifted physiologist Ernst von Fleischl-Marxow (1846-91), suffered from a painful tumor of the hand.

I'VE BECOME A MORPHINE ADDICT... WHY NOT TRY COCAINE INSTEAD?

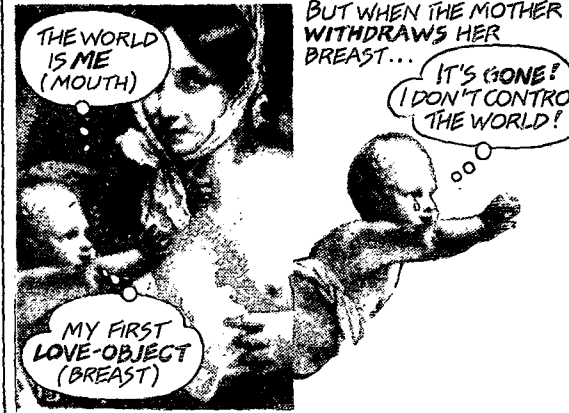


And Fleischl-Marxow had become a despairing addict.



I FAILED TO ANTICIPATE COCAINE'S GRAVE EFFECTS. NEVER GENERALIZE FROM A SINGLE FACT!

THE STAGES OF PSYCHO-SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT FIRST ZONE: THE ORAL STAGE



Freud's career (above left) and his ideas (above right) are both illustrated in *Freud for Beginners*.

sibilities, but that are now passe and irrelevant to therapy for "mal-adjusted" personalities.

The authors make clear that the disturbing notions on which Freud based his dialectic of the human mind pertained, and still pertain, to the irrationality of the external world as well as to the cunning of unreason that dominates our mental development. And they make it clear that neurosis is just "one sort of mental functioning" integral to the

human condition. Madness resides somewhere along the same continuum as sanity and "adjustment" to the external world.

Nor do A & Z revise or ridicule Freud according to the agreement between conformist psychologists and radical feminists on the allegedly sexist bias of psychoanalysis. They suggest that from Freud's standpoint, the proper object of critical psychoanalytical theory was the genital organiza-

tion of human sexuality enforced by historically specific requirements of social-economic development, not just the symptoms of that trauma as found in the attributes of adult female sexuality.

Freud for Beginners is good enough to be read by high school and college students as an introduction to psychoanalysis. Certainly it contains a more accurate account of Freud and his theories than can be found in most psychology textbooks.

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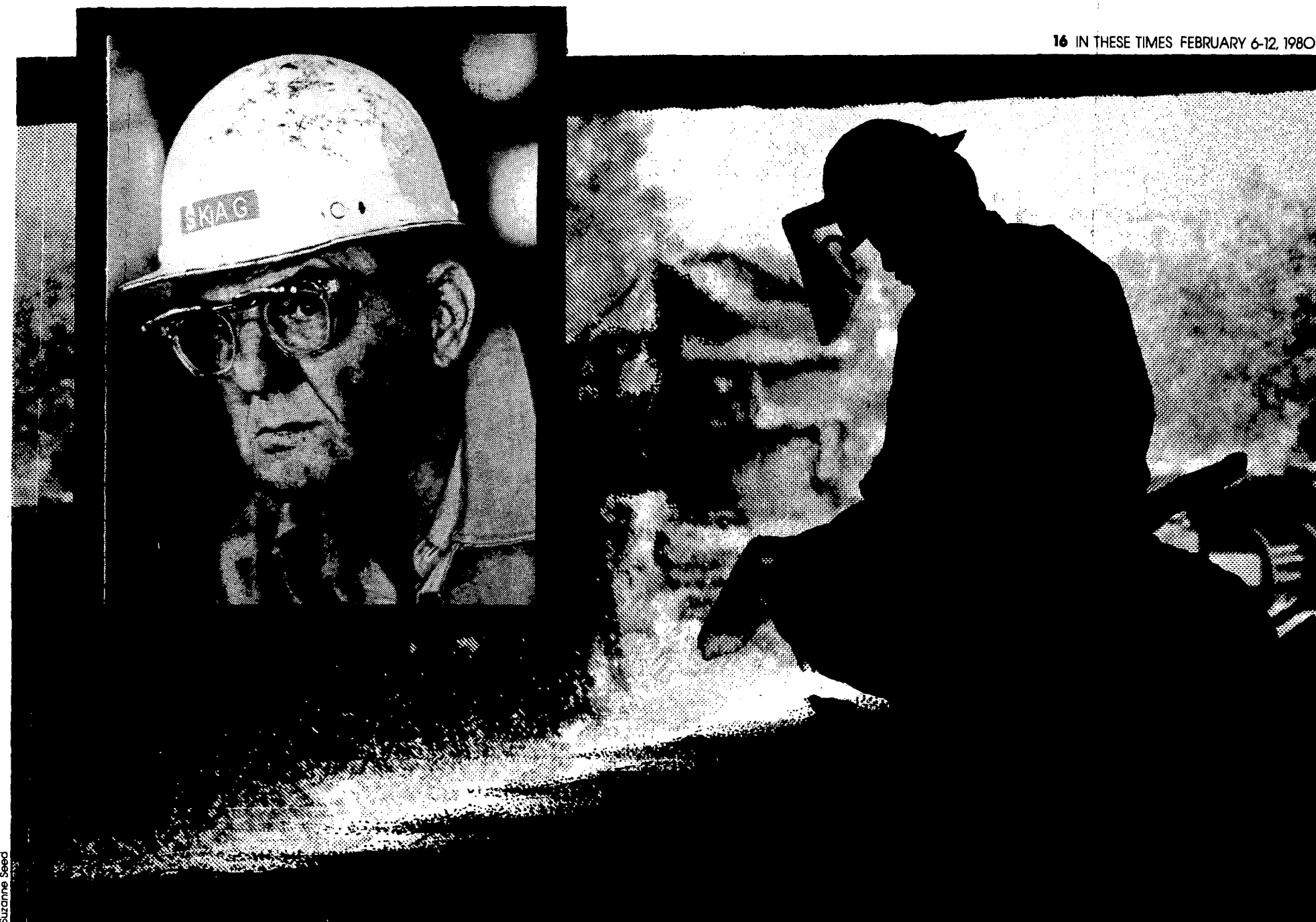
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Suzanne Seed



SKAG

Pittsburgh workers test the strength of TV's steel opera

AS *SKAG* (ON NBC) starts, dust and sparks and noise clutter the screen. Two Pittsburgh steelworkers face imminent death, but Pete Skagska (Karl Malden) dons his white hat and dams the stream of ore. The mill workers rejoice and Skag goes home. At the dinner table we witness a family filled with enough problems to help us predict at least five or six potential episodes. But then Skag has a stroke. He is forced to question his family's acceptance of him when he can no longer perform as the family patriarch, breadwinner or bed mate.

He recovers, and then must face rejection by the mill management when he returns to reclaim his job. A younger foreman was challenging his position. Skag must, and with his workers' help, proves that he still is the hero.

Workers' comments.

Malden and series creator, Abby Mann (*Judgment at Nuremberg*, *Ship of Fools*), spent time in the Pittsburgh area, including mills in Braddock and Homestead, to research the story. But *Skag* did not win favor with all Pittsburgh steel workers.

Though the main part of the show so far is a family drama, the point of reference is the mill in East Pittsburgh.

And it is the scenes in the mill some of the workers who daily face the real hearth criticize as being unrealistic.

"*Skag* really didn't show the filth and dirt and darkness," said a boilerman from United States Steel's Homestead works. "Sometimes it's like working in a damn coal mine, and then when the furnaces start blasting, you can't see 200 feet into the open hearth."

The resounding disappointment came, however, from the character of Skag. The publicity had prepared viewers for a show about a working family. When Malden put on the white foreman's hat, steelworkers sighed.

Foremen, they say, don't work in the mill. They supervise.

"Foremen don't pick up a shovel," said Larry Evans of the Edgar Thompson Mill in Braddock. "They're not supposed to work and the unionmen are always watching out for foremen who are doing that because they're trying to speed the men up or trying to do the men's work."

To some Homestead workers it seems that two-thirds of the foremen do not know the jobs and couldn't perform them if the situation demanded it. Unlike Skag, those foremen have not worked their way up through the ranks and so must rely on enforcing safety regulations which they do not understand.

Not that the workers don't appreciate safety. In a work place where the danger of industrial accident is extremely high, people do not want to take unnecessary

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BY ANITA ALVERIO

An interview with the producer, Abby Mann

How did *Skag* start? Brandon Tartikoff, the new head of entertainment at NBC, and Fred Silverman and I wanted to discuss doing a show together. Fred and I had originally done *Kojak* together. We wanted to do something about a blue collar family, but I didn't know what the story would be.

Then I began thinking that both my father and brother-in-law had had a stroke. My brother-in-law had always been a very athletic guy and when he had the stroke, he had to reevaluate his whole life. So I merged that experience with the steelworkers and that's how the idea came to me.

Why did you choose Pittsburgh?

I'm a native Piggsburger, from East Pittsburgh, where *Skag* is set. My dad owned a small jewelry store on Braddock Avenue. It's now torn down and made into a parking lot. Also, my brother-in-law and sister are optometrists there, and my parents still live in Squirrel Hill.

Did you ever work in any of the steel mills?

No, but I have seen them, and I am aware of the heroic proportions that these men have every day of their lives. You know, it's a living hell to go in there.

Most people aren't aware of what the steel workers have to put up with. Their lives are more dramatic than most of the things that are being written about.

I also resent the fact that for many years workers have either been too sentimentalized or too harshly dealt with. They're not all Archie Bunkers and they're not all Joes and they're not all just hardhats. A lot of them are sensitive and as aware of problems as some of the people who write about them so condescendingly. It's as though they think that anybody who's a steelworker is going to vote for Ronald Reagan and that's not really so. There are people who are

steelworkers of every political stripe and every bit of sensitivity.

Why did you want to do something about a blue collar worker and family?

I wanted to tell the story of a guy who works hard in his life and is discarded when he can't work any longer. Also I wanted to explore whether there is such a thing as a family today. Whether there is such a thing as love. Whether when a man can't make it in bed with his wife or when he can't bring bread home to his family, whether they'll still love him.

And I think the answer is probably no. That's pretty harsh for a television series to deal with, but that's what I feel.

Except that Pete Skagska appears to be loved.

Not so. Only so long as he continues to deliver.

Why did you choose a foreman for your hero?

Because I wanted a man of some responsibility. It relates to the climax, when he comes back to work after his stroke. He's a leader.

In the next year, if the series is picked up, I would like to deal with Skag's crew. I would like to focus on a lot of the workers. I'm all for looking at life realistically. I always have been. And I think that people aren't writing about the '80s really, and I hope I am in *Skag*.

How do you see *Skag* responding to the '80s? For instance, how is he different from your other blue-collar hero, *Kojak*?

Skag is much different. I wrote the pilot for *Kojak* to show how vulnerable policemen are. Is it right that many times in the crime situation, they be both judge, jury and executioner? I left after the pilot, when it was made into a series.

While I admired *Kojak* professionally and it carried out the bible of what I was saying, the character became a superman. Everything he did was right. He kicked around a lot of minorities, and it no longer became what I intended it to be. So far, *Skag* is another story. We've only filmed nine hours this season and it's

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